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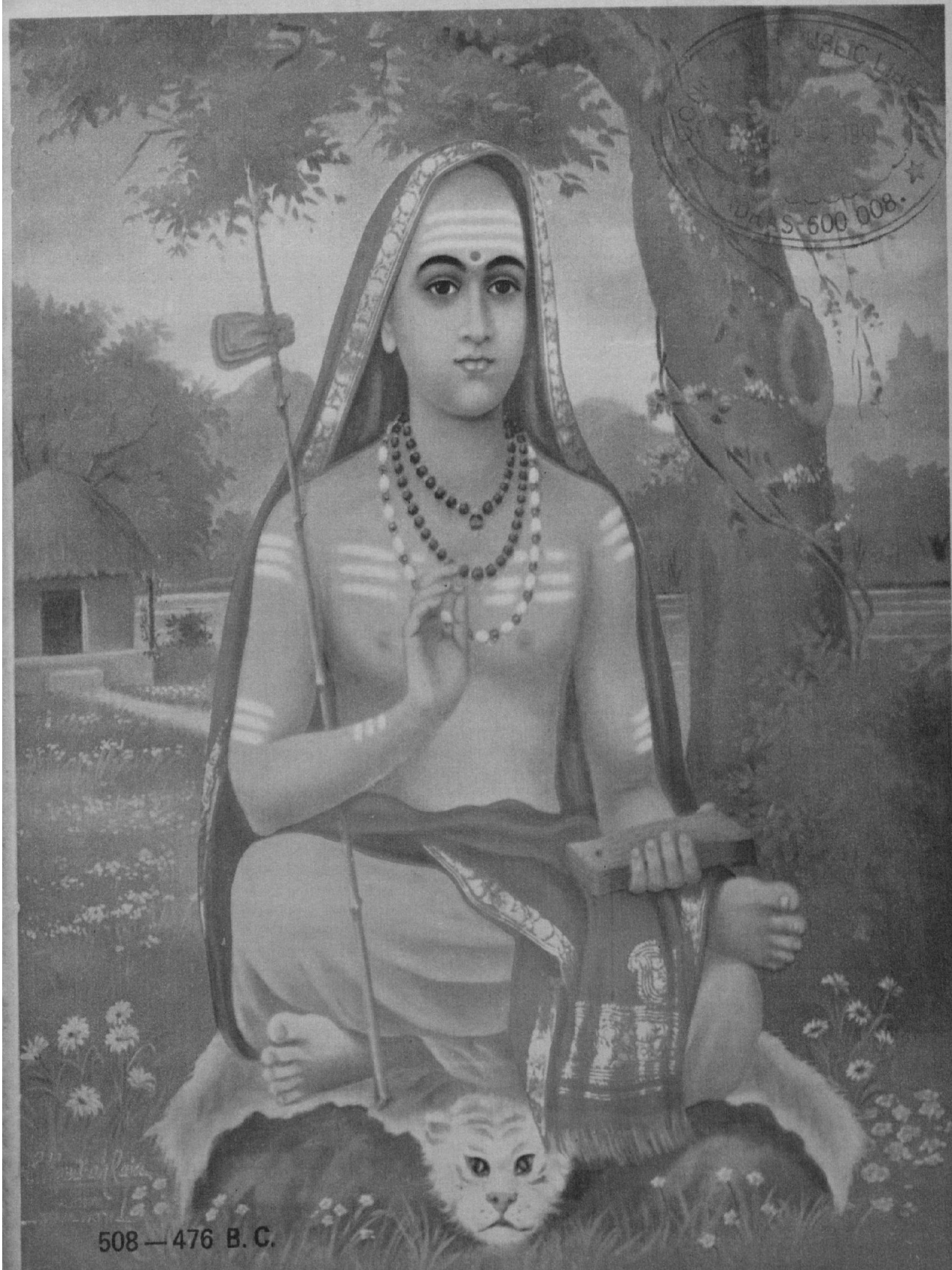
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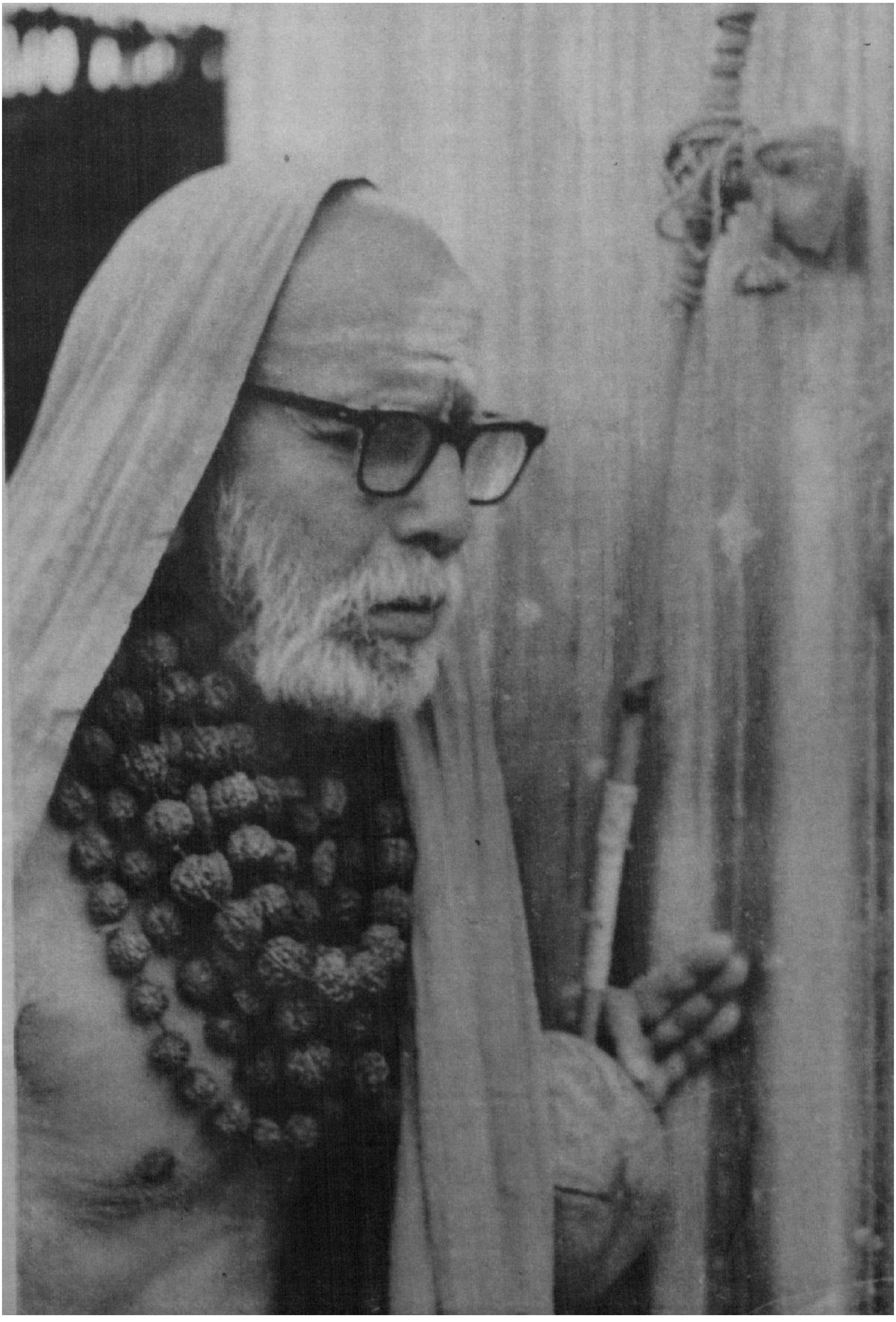
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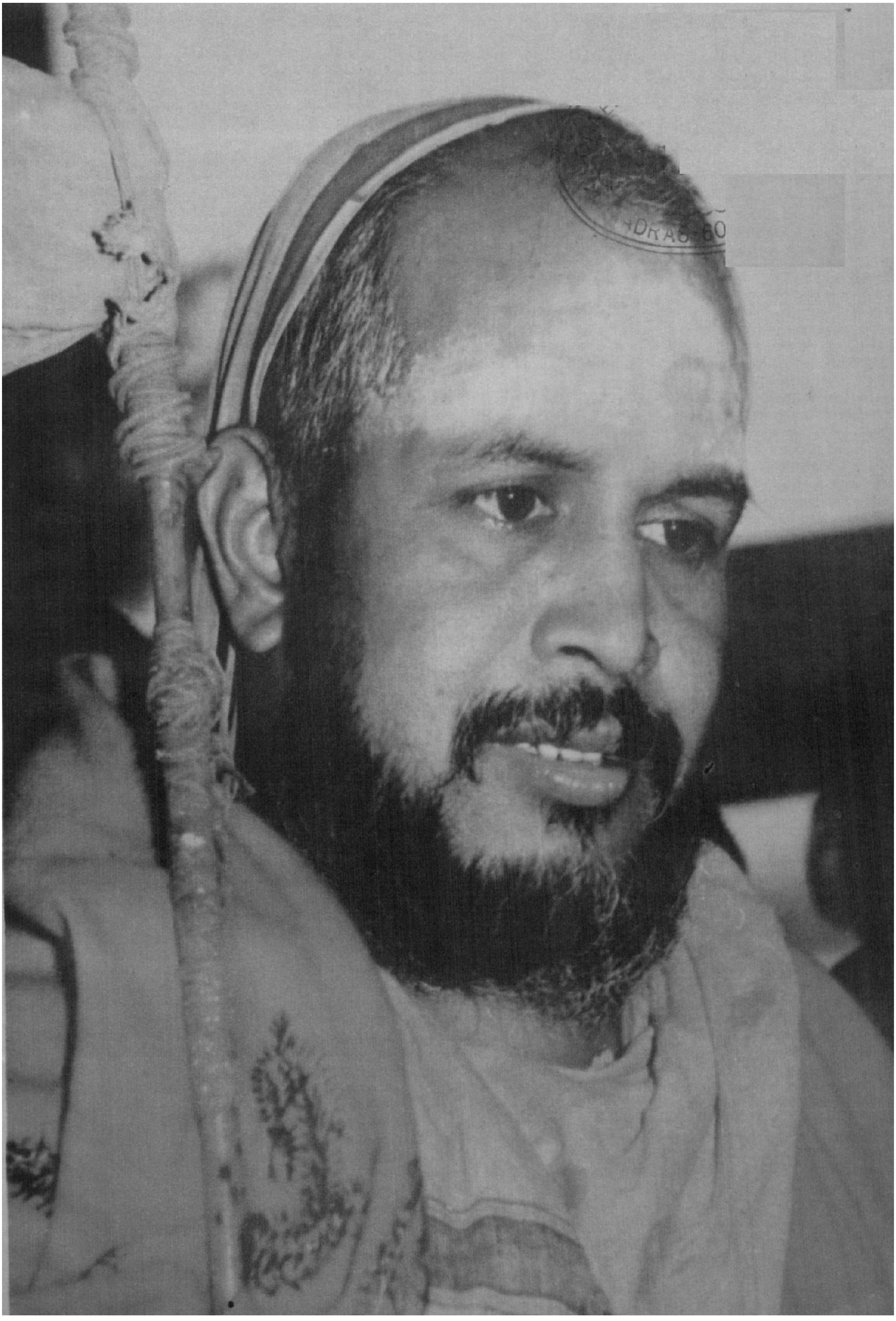
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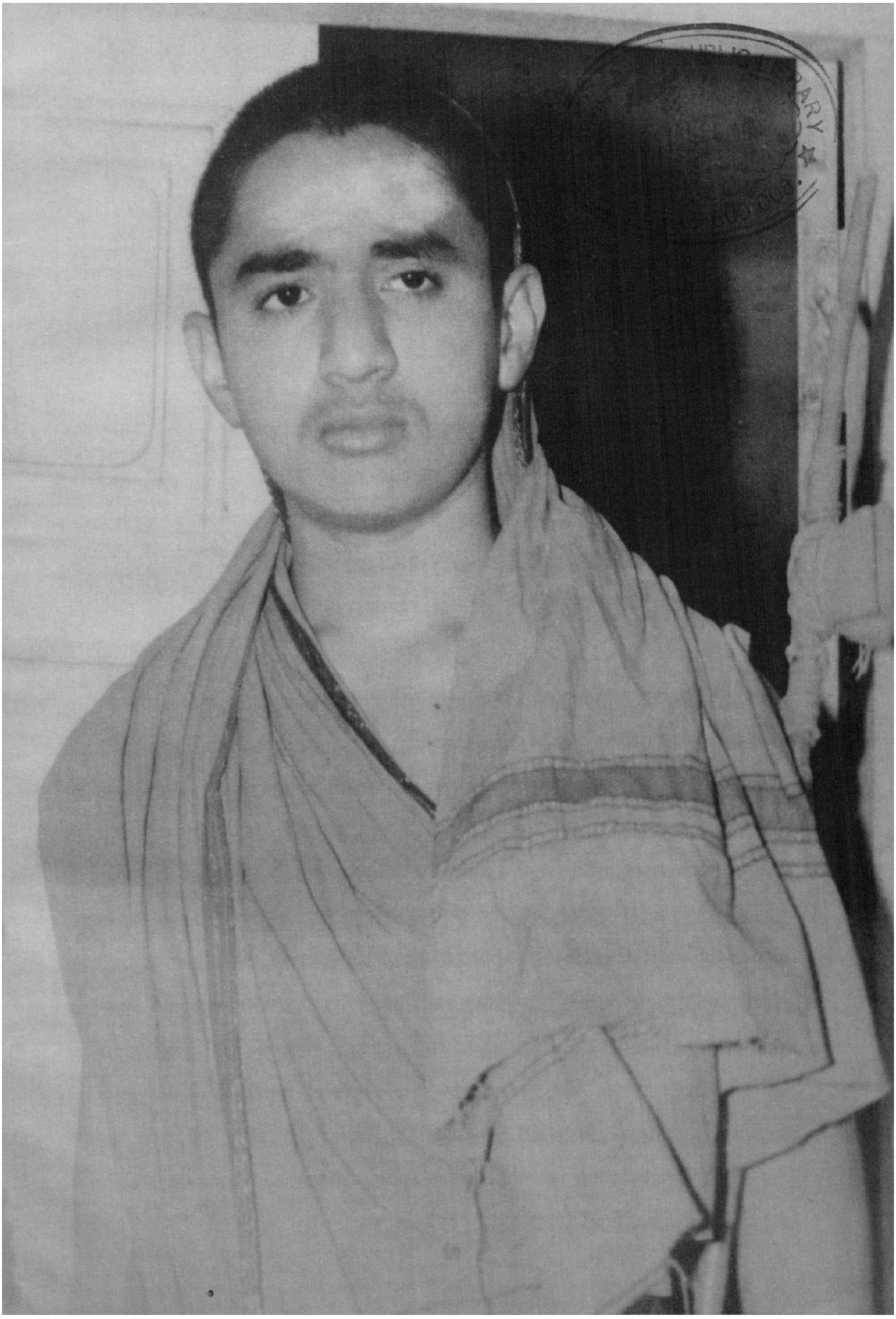
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तद्योगभोगवरमुक्तिसुमोक्षयोगलिङ्गार्चनात् प्राप्तजयः स्वकाश्रमे ।
तान्वै विजित्य तरसाऽक्षतशास्त्रवादैर्मिश्रान् स कांच्यामथ सिद्धिमाप ॥ (शिवरहस्य)







॥ श्रीः ॥

मुद्रा

श्रीमत्परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यवर्य-
श्रीमच्छंकरभगवत्पादप्रतिष्ठित-
श्रीकाञ्ची-कामकोटि-पीठाधिपजगद्गुरु-
श्रीमच्चन्द्रशेखरेन्द्रसरस्वती-श्रीपादादेशानुसारेण
श्रीमज्जयेन्द्रसरस्वती-श्रीपादैः क्रियते नारायणस्मृतिः ।

चोलमण्डलविराजमानतञ्जानगरपरिसरवर्तिपञ्चनदक्षेत्रप्राग्भागविलसच्छ्रीगणपत्यग्रहाराभिजनस्य शैशवाभ्यस्तसंस्कृतविद्यस्य नानाशास्त्रनैपुण्यलब्धदर्शनकलानिधिबिरुदस्य मद्रासूनगरविराजमानराजकीयाङ्ग्ल-महाकलाशालायाम्, अण्णामलैविश्वविद्यालये च संस्कृतविभागाध्यक्षपदमलंकृतवतः, मद्रपुरी-राजकीय-नानाभाषामयप्राच्यपुस्तकभाण्डागाराध्यक्षपदम्, तथा मयूरपुरी-पञ्चनदक्षेत्रस्थितसंस्कृतमहाकलाशालाध्यक्षपदं चाधिष्ठितवतः नानाशाखविश्वविद्यालयसंस्कृतविद्यापरीक्षाप्रणालीनिर्मातुः विविधसंस्कृतकक्ष्यापरीक्षासमिति-नेतुरसंख्येयान्तेवासिसंपादनचातुर्यासादितकुलपतिसम्माननस्य तदानींतननिखिलसंख्यावद्गणसंस्तुतस्य सविमर्श-प्रकाशितनानानिबन्धजातस्य शिवभक्ततल्लजस्येदानीं यशःकायेन जीवतो महामहोपाध्याय-श्रीकुप्पुस्वामि-शास्त्रिणः स्मारकतया तदन्तेवासिभिः तत्प्रियमित्रैरन्यैश्च तस्मिन्नाकलितभावबन्धैर्मयूरपुरीसंस्कृतमहाकला-शाला-प्राङ्गण-प्रदेशे स्थापितायाः नानाशास्त्रकाव्यकलानुबन्धिविविधप्रबन्धरत्नगर्भं पुस्तकभाण्डागारं निर्वहन्त्याः गीर्वाणवाणीप्रचारं नानोपायैः कुर्वन्त्याः अमुद्रितानन्तापूर्वग्रन्थान् सविमर्शं मुद्रा-पयन्त्याः श्रीकुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिविमर्शसमितेर्निर्वाहकैरेतच्छास्त्रिमहोदयजन्मशताब्दोत्सवाङ्गतया पूर्वं प्रकाशितस्य श्रीशास्त्रिलेखसंकलनगर्भस्य तच्छिष्यनिबद्धतदनुबन्धिकृतिगर्भस्य च प्रथमभागस्यानुबन्धितया इदानीं प्राकाश्यमुपनीतं द्वितीयभागं एतच्छताब्दीमहोत्सवावसरानेकपण्डितकृतनानावाङ्मयात्मकैः नानादिक्कैः

प्राच्यनव्यशास्त्रसंगतैर्विविधशास्त्रार्थमर्मस्पृग्भिः विभिन्नदर्शनसंबद्धैराङ्ग्लभाषामयैः संस्कृतभाषामयैश्च पञ्चविंशत्यधिकसंख्याकैर्लघुविमर्शात्मनिबन्धैः सम्पादितं दृष्ट्वा भृशं मुदितान्तरङ्गाः स्मः। मन्यामहे च निबन्धेनानेन महानेव संस्कृतलोकोपकारः स्यादिति।

एवमेतच्छास्त्रिमहोदयविषये कृतज्ञताविष्करणकुतूहलिनां तत्संस्मरण-प्रबन्धप्रकाशनरूपलोकोपकारबद्धश्रद्धानां गीर्वाणवाण्यभिमानिनामैहिकामुष्मिकश्रेयांस्यनुगृह्णातु भगवान् महात्रिपुरसुन्दरीसमेतः श्रीचन्द्रमौलीश्वर इत्याशास्महे।

यात्रास्थानम्
तिरुप्पतिक्षेत्रम्
क्रोधन-चैत्रबहुलत्रयोदशी

नारायणस्मृतिः

FOREWORD

I am both privileged and overwhelmed that Prof. Janaki should have called upon me to write a Foreword to this excellent Part II Volume Commemorating the Birth Centenary of Prof. Kuppuswamy Sastri. Truly, I feel unequal and inadequate to the task, but I am happy that this provides me the opportunity to offer my *Añjali* of deep and sincere reverence and admiration for this scholar, guru, teacher, traditional and modern Pandit of our century. One has only to look at his disciples to know the comprehensiveness of approach, prolificness, the diversity of critical studies and the extent of his reach. Amongst these are the great names of Dr. C. Sivaramamurti, Dr. A. Sankaran, Dr. V. Raghavan, Pt. D.T. Tatacharya, Pt. A. Chinnaswami Sastri, Pt. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri and a host of other modern and traditional scholars.

Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri was in one respect the last of those great multi-disciplinary men of the Indian tradition; in another respect, he was the first of those Sanskrit scholars who established a new critical methodology for work, not only in Sanskrit but the broader field of Indology. This Commemoration Volume bears testimony to his command and concern for subjects ranging from Vedic studies, to rules of grammar, to *alaṅkāra śāstra*, to linguistics, to historical studies, to textual analysis, to a critical examination of myth, to philosophy, metaphysics, and of course the arts.

The author-scholars of this volume are all internationally recognised minds and no doubt dedicated researchers. They have paid befitting tributes to this grand towering monumental figure of Prof. Kuppuswamy Sastri through their specific disciplines.

Prof. R. N. Dandekar has become a legend in his own lifetime. He represents a related but different stream of Sanskrit scholarship. Pertinently, he has once again raised the question of Vedic Exegesis, a much debated subject for a century. To raise this matter at this point of time is to bring to the fore the new elements that have entered into the examination of

Vedic Exegesis. Chief amongst these is the renewed interest in the intricacies and complexities of Vedic sacrifice (ritual). Much valuable work has been done in this field in recent years and it has indeed opened up new avenues of approach to the study of Vedas. It is in the light of this renewed interest that Dr. Dandekar draws attention to three questions relating to Vedic Exegesis, such as the applicability of Pāṇini's grammar, the taking into account of linguistic factors such as the Dravidian substratum and the re-interpretation of *Ṛgveda* mythology in relation to the age-old question of proto-Indo-European.

Prof. Dandekar's stimulating contribution is matched by Prof. J. Gonda on the re-interpretation of the famous Agni-verses of the *Ṛgveda*. This brief essay reopens another perennial question of the relation of *Agni* and *Yūpa*.

These two seminal articles are followed by others of Vedic scholars. In fact, all the major names are here. Prof. C. G. Kashikar gives us an insight into the area of Śyenaciti in the Āpastamba tradition, and Dr. George Cardona "On Yāska's Etymology of Daṇḍa", Dr. T. N. Dharmadhikari on the "Kalpa-citations in Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Taittirīya Saṃhitā,". Prof. J. F. Staal has been involved with Vedic ritual, especially the Agni Cayana, as also philosophic studies for many decades now. Appropriately, this leads him to examine the relation between *Karma* and *Jñāna*, and laguage and ritual. After a penetrating analysis, he comes to the conclusion that ritual preceded language and belongs to a pre-linguistic state of development. Prof. Staal's contribution will no doubt stimulate further enquiry at this level of theoretical analysis. The editor's welcome addition of a most pertinent quote from Susanne K. Langer reveals the painstaking work that has been done in the editing of this volume.

Altogether, the articles on Vedic Studies clearly reflect the modern trends in scholarship in the field. It is obvious that the methodology of ritual, the *Viniyoga* of *mantras* has acquired fresh significance and that there is a new concern on *measure* in the fundamental sense.

Appropriately, the section on Classical Sanskrit begins with a contribution by another great scholar, Prof. T. Burrow. Three generations of students have been brought up on Prof. Burrow's writings on language, and this short article on Sanskrit Etymology adds to the corpus.

There are other essays here and each is a mine of information or a gem of interpretation. Dr. Brockington's essay on the "Mountains and Suns" with their connotation of mystical illumination is fascinating for the connections that he has been able to establish. His analysis of simile and metaphor is stimulating and will no doubt provoke further investigation.

It is heartening to see that in keeping with Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's catholic comprehensive concern, the volume has not restricted itself to philosophy and darśana although the contributions in this field are impressive, such as the article by R. Thangaswami Sarma on "Pramāṇas in Pūrvamīmāṁsā" or Dr. S. J. Francis X. Clooney's "Concept of Dharma in the Mīmāṁsā Sūtras of Jaimini". There are the charming studies of "Epic Echoes in Bhāṇas" by Dr. F. Baldissera and Dr. S. S. Janaki, and Dr. Venkitasubramonia Iyer's article on "the Syānandūraprabandha of Svāti Tirunāl". Equally interesting is the article of Prof. N. P. Unni on "The Heroine of "Śukasandeśa". It is also appropriate that the aspects of traditional medicines should not have been excluded and that an article should also have been devoted to a major Tamil movement such as Vaiṣṇavism, and another on textual basis of theatrical traditions of "Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi of Śaktibhadra" on the Kerala stage (article by Sri D. Appukuttan Nair). Dr. Susan Oleksiw's article on "A New Interpretation on the Mṛcchakaṭika" as a play of compassion with Buddhist overtones, will be much discussed. So also Dr. Janaki's on "Svarṇamuktā-saṃvāda' (or vivāda), as also Dr. Krishnamoorthy's on "New Light on Bharata's Lakṣaṇa". Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's interest extended wide outside the horizons of India. The editor has done well to include three excellent articles on "the Greek Contributions to Sanskrit Studies" by Mrs. Eliki Zannas, "An Old Sinhalese Inscription from Arikamedu" by I. Mahadevan, and "Grant, Resumption and Regrant" by Sri R. Thirumalai.

Finally, the two essays on music *tāla* and *laya* in their own manner take us back to this consideration of the concept of measure, time and

tempo, problems which have been raised in the beginning of the volume. Whether planned or otherwise, it would appear that the entire volume as a whole emerges with an unitary theme of the examination of the concept of measure, whether in space or in time. This is borne out by the articles relating to the Vedic Studies and the concept of Daṇḍa or the Śyenaciti or the astrological elements in Pāṇini or *tāla* and *laya*. All this, as also the concern of the Kuppuswami Sastri Institute in the examination of the ritual methodologies enunciated in the Āgamas, will, it is hoped, be treated together with a multi-disciplinary approach. Perhaps then there could be a systematic articulation of the holistic traditions of India. As this volume stands, it is welcome because the segments of the tradition have been represented here by diverse minds, diverse approaches, from all parts of the globe. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri sitting in a small room in a secluded cell contained in his human form a cosmic vision and an incisive intellect which was piercing many disciplines and areas simultaneously. This volume gives us hope that the enquiries begun by him will continue and the institution created in his name will carry on his work.

N. Delhi — Dr. (Mrs.) KAPILA VATSYAYAN,

13th May 1985 — *Secretary, Govt. of India, New Delhi*

॥ श्रीः ॥

आमुखम्

मम परमगुरूणां सुगृहीतनामधेयानां महामहोपाध्याय-कुप्पुस्वामि-शास्त्रिणां जन्मशताब्दी-समारोह-प्रसङ्गे विदुषां लेखनैः सङ्गुम्फितां स्मारिकाम् इमां सहृदयकरपल्लवेषु समर्पयत् नितरां मोमुद्यते मे चेतः। स्वनामधन्यानां मद्गुरुचरणानां श्रीराघवार्याणां कर्तव्यमासीत् इदं स्मारिकाग्रन्थसमर्पणाख्यं कर्म। तेषाम् अन्तेवासिष्वन्यतमोऽहं यद्यपि तां धुरं निर्वोढुम् अतीव अनर्हः तथापि भगिन्याः श्रीमत्याः जानक्या अभिलाषमन्यथयितुम् असमर्थः किञ्चित् प्राक्कथनत्वेन निवेदयामि।

"यद्यत् विभूतिमत्सत्त्वम् श्रीमदूर्जितमेव वा।
तत्तदेवावगच्छ त्वं मम तेजोंऽशसंभवम्॥"

भगवद्गीता 10. 14

इति भगवद्वचनम् अनुसृत्य अस्यां शताब्द्याम् अवतीर्णेषु अध्यापकधौरेयेषु महामहोपाध्यायाः कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिणः भगवतः तेजोंऽशसंभवा इति निश्चप्रचं वक्तुं शक्यते। सर्वप्रथमं दक्षिणप्रान्ते संस्कृतक्षेत्रे पाश्चात्यरीत्या भाषासाहित्ययोरनुसन्धानपरम्परां शास्त्रिण एव प्रावर्तयन्। आधुनिकपठन-पद्धत्यां अन्येऽपि बहवः निष्णाता अभूवन्, किन्तु ते प्रायशः पाश्चात्यभङ्ग्या गवेषणां चिकीर्षवः तत्र च स्वाधुनिकतां प्रतिष्ठापयितुम् औत्सुक्यातिशयम् दर्शयन्तः पारम्परिकशास्त्रार्थसरण्याम् अनादरम् अवहेलनाबुद्धिं च प्रदर्शयन्ति स्म। किन्तु महामहोपाध्यायाः शास्त्रिणः वैदिकसंस्कृत्याः प्राचीनशास्त्र-परिचयपद्धत्याश्च गौरवं तत्रत्यगरिमाणम् च पालयन्त आसन्। Analytical अथवा विश्लेषणात्मिकां युक्तिनिष्ठां पाश्चात्यशैलीम् स्वीकर्तुं यद्यपि ते सन्नद्धाः आसन्, तथापि भारतीयमौलिकविचारान् आचार-परम्पराम् आस्तिक्यबोधं च न कदापि अवगणयन्ति स्म। इदं तेषां विलक्षणं वैदुष्यम् अद्यापि विरलतया दरीदृश्यते अस्माकं विश्वविद्यालयीय-संस्कृताध्यापकानां मध्ये। देशस्य स्वातन्त्र्यलाभादनन्तर दशाब्देषु चतुर्षु व्यतीतेष्वपि मानसिकं स्वातन्त्र्यम् अलभमानाः केचन आधुनिकाः यत्किमपि भारतीयैः प्रतिपादितं तत् पाश्चात्यैः अनुमोदितं वा इति परीक्ष्य तदनुसारं तस्य प्रामाणिकतां निर्धारयन्ति। पाश्चात्यपण्डितेषु बहवः यद्यपि भारतीयसाहित्यगवेषणविषयान् तत्तत्कालेषूपलब्धानाम् आधाराणां ग्रन्थानां च अवलम्बेन स्वं स्वं मतं प्राख्यापयन्, तथापि तेषां मध्ये केचन एतादृशोऽप्यासन् ये ग्रीक(Greek) - संस्कृतेः प्राचीनत्वसिसाधयिषाशाठ्येन भारतीयसाहित्यस्य अर्वाचीनत्वं स्थापयितुं प्रायतन्त। उदाहरणतया रामायणमहाभारतयोः कालनिर्णयविषये कियतीं भ्रान्तिं ते उदपादयन् इति

सर्वेषां विदितचरमेव। एवमेव ते आद्यशंकरभगवत्पादानां मनुस्मृत्यादीनां च रचनाविषये, तत्तद्ग्रन्थेषु प्रतिपादिता प्राचीना भारतीयसभ्यता कथङ्कारं ग्रीक - रोम - सभ्यताया अधमर्णा इति स्थापयितुं निर्बन्धिता आसन्। तेषां दुस्साहसं दुराग्रहं च विफलीकर्तुं महामहोपाध्याय-कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिसमानाः उभयपद्धतिप्रवीणाः विद्वांसः अधुना नोत्पद्यन्त इति चेखिद्यते मे चेतः।

शास्त्रिवर्याणां अन्तेवासिषु डा. राघवन् महोदयः एक एव पुरुषधौरेय आसीत्, यः उन्मस्तकः सन् विदेशीयगवेषकाणां पुरतः एतादृशेषु संदर्भेषु वार्गिकमात्सर्यं त्यक्त्वा, ताटस्थ्येन अनुसन्धानं कर्तुम् अन्वरुधत्। वैदिशिकैः यद्यदुक्तं ऐतिहासिकविषयेषु अथवा दार्शनिकविषयेषु, तत् सर्वं सर्वथा प्रमाणिकमिति भावनायाः निराकरणं भारतीयविदुषां मध्ये प्रथमं बालगंगाधरतिलकैः, तदनन्तरं महामहोपाध्यायकुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिभिः तच्छिष्यैश्च कृतम्। अन्ये बहवः पण्डिताः तेभ्योपि प्रकाण्डतराः आसन्, किन्तु तेषाम् आङ्ग्लभाषानभिज्ञत्वेन पाश्चात्यविद्वदाशयावगमावसरः सुदुर्लभ आसीत्। संक्षेपतः पौरस्त्य-पाश्चात्य-पाण्डित्ययोः युगपत्सम्पादनेन भारतीयगौरवस्य पुनःस्थापना महामहोपाध्यायैः कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिभिरेव साधिता। अत्र हेतुः ते सौभाग्यवशात् तस्मिन् कालघट्टे आसन् यस्मिन् स्वातन्त्र्यप्राप्तये भारतीयानाम् उत्कण्ठा परमां सीमां प्राप्ता। देशीयस्वातन्त्र्येण साकं बौद्धिकस्वातन्त्र्यस्यापि समन्वयस्य आवश्यकता नितराम् आसीत्। यथा बालगङ्गाधरतिलकः, गोखले, श्रीनिवासशास्त्री, अम्बेत्कारः, महात्मा गान्धी इत्यादयो नेतारः आङ्ग्लभाषाध्ययनलाभात् वैदेशिकैः सह क्रियमाणे राष्ट्रीयसमरे समर्था अभूवन् तथा पाश्चात्यगवेषकाणां पक्षपातप्रयुक्तान् विश्लेषणान् भारतीयसंस्कृतिं भाषां च अधिकृत्य सम्यग् अवबुद्ध्य, तेभ्यः संस्कृतस्य गौरवं परिरक्षितुं भारतीय-संस्कृतेः प्राचीनतमत्वं सनातनत्वं च उद्घोषयितुं कुप्पुस्वाम्यार्या एव समर्थाः समभवन्। यद्यपि वैदेशिकराज्यभरणाधिकारस्य शृङ्खलया ते बद्धा आसन् तथापि साहित्य-दर्शनादि-विषयेषु स्वकीयविचारधारां प्रकाशयितुं नासीत् तेषां कोऽपि प्रतिबन्धः। अतः अर्वाचीनपण्डितेभ्योऽपि बौद्धिकस्वातन्त्र्यलाभाय सहयोगं कर्तुम् अनितरसुलभः अवसरः तैः प्राप्तः। वयमपि वैदेशिकानाम् अनुसन्धानप्रणालीं तेभ्योऽपि अधिकं ताटस्थ्येन प्रयोक्तुं प्रभवाम इति तैः इदंप्रथमतया स्थापितम्॥

अतः तेषां शताब्दी-समारोह-प्रसङ्गे तेषामुपहाररूपेण या स्मारिका प्रकाश्यते सेयं बौद्धिकस्वातन्त्र्यस्य देशीय-स्वातन्त्र्य-समरस्य च स्मारिका भवितुमर्हति। तच्छिष्य-परम्परया मद्रपुरीस्थैः संस्कृताभिज्ञैः स्थापिता समीपकाले भारतीयसर्वकारैश्च पोषिता कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्र्यनुसन्धानसंस्था इतोऽप्यधिकं तत् बौद्धिकं स्वातन्त्र्यं विस्तारयन्ती शास्त्रिवर्याणां शाश्वतस्मारिकारूपेण विकसतादिति वाग्देवीं प्रार्थयन् विरमामि।

इत्थं,

८-५-१९८५, सी. आर् - स्वामिनाथः

नवदेहली

INTRODUCTION

This is the second part of the Mm. Prof. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRIAR BIRTH CENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME, containing an account of the Birth Day celebrations conducted with the holding of Seminars and other entertainments with music, dance and drama in the evenings, both in June 1981 and November of the same year. The first volume dealt mainly with the valuable writings of the great Professor along with a Sanskrit life-sketch in verses of the Mahāmahopādhyāya by one of his early students. Select papers read at the Seminars by scholars of India and outside find a place in the 320 pages here, after the 45 pages of the proceedings of the Celebrations.

It may be worthwhile here to recall how Professor Śastriar started his career with the single aim of advancing the cause of Sanskrit in this State, if not the entire country. In 1905, when he was actually contemplating on legal studies with the ultimate purpose of becoming a lawyer, the opportunity came to him to become a teacher, when the late V. Krishnaswami Aiyar of Madras advised him not to waste his vast knowledge of traditional Sanskrit studies combined with the modern equipment of a Master of Arts he was then, but to put them to use in training younger students of Sanskrit in carrying on the rich tradition in Sanskrit Sastraic studies. What would have resulted in a great loss to Sanskrit studies was thus averted and Sastriar found his own level in Scholarship of a rare type. Thus ushered into becoming the first Principal of the Madras Sanskrit College from 1906 January, he built up a reputation soon for his enviable grounding in the four Śāstras of Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Vyākaraṇa and Nyāya, along with Sāhitya studies which particularly would not have gained the importance of a separate discipline in the Madras University curriculum of Sanskrit studies but for his taking it up seriously and advancing its scope in the later period of his Service as the Head of the Sanskrit Department in the Presidency College. People of the present generation may not know how much Sāhitya as a subject of study was neglected, previously to his efforts. As a matter of fact, it was because of his being the Curator of the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, many valuable books in Sanskrit came to light under his careful editing of manuscripts according to modern research lines.

The Journal of Oriental Research was founded by him in the thirties of this century with a band of workers drawn mainly from his own students who had the benefit of the methodology of modern research from his example. Dr. V. Raghavan, to whose great devotion this Institute owes much for its founding and growth, was one of his disciples to carry out his master's ambitions and to add to them by his own abilities also in a wider field of not only Indological studies but of Sāhitya, Saṅgīta and Aesthetics in general. It was said that when the Professor was asked once for his credentials while being thought of for the INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICE his characteristic reply was

'Apart from my students, what more am I required to supply as credentials '? Such having been his confidence in and affection for his students, it was no wonder he began to live again in some of his students, such as Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. Sivaramamurti, T. N. Ramachandran to mention a few.

The Seminars were conducted very efficiently during the June and November sessions by the enthusiasm of Dr. S. S. Janaki, a devoted student of Dr. Raghavan, and other scholars; and the papers of the savants of the Sanskrit world in India and the West, find a good representation in these pages.

Under the Adarsa Samsodha Scheme of the Govt. of India, special scholars are being trained in the traditional Śāstras as well as the modern research disciplines along with a few Western scholars under the foundations in U. S. and European countries. With a view to combining modern science with studies of Vedic origin, the Fellows of the Indian National Science Academy working at the Institute are endowed specially for such an inter-disciplinary task and the Institute's usefulness gets more assured by their efforts.

This Volume bears the Narayana Smriti from His Holiness Sri Jayendra Sarasvati Swamigal and also the Forewords in Sanskrit and English by Dr. C. R. Swaminathan and Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan respectively. Dr. S. S. Janaki's Preface gives in a nutshell a good account of everything about the Seminars and the scholars who participated.

We have only to add our deeply-felt thanks to all those others also whose services in helping the occasion with finances and entertainment facilities were much appreciated.

To Sri V. T. Rajan a special meed of thanks is due for the fine printing and get-up of the Volume.

K. CHANDRASEKHARAN,
Chairman, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute

Madras
25th May 85

PREFACE

It is my pleasant duty and privilege to bring out, on behalf of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, this Commemoration Volume containing select papers presented at the seminars held in connection with Sastriar's Birth-centenary Celebrations in 1981.

The K. S. R. Institute was founded in 1944 in memory of the great savant, Mahāmahopādhyāya Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri by his admirers and scholar - friends like the Rt. Hon. Sri V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Iyer, Sir S. Radhakrishnan and Sri K. Balasubramanya Iyer. Dr. V. Raghavan whose devotion to his guru Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri and the cause of Sanskrit is well known, died suddenly in April 1979 after a long period of dedicated service to the Institute. After his demise, the Governing Body of the Institute, chiefly its President Sri T. V. Visvanatha Iyer and Secretary Sri K. Chandrasekharan, decided to celebrate the Birth-Centenary in 1981 in a worthy manner.

The celebrations were held in two sessions in June and Oct. 1981, in both of which almost all the leading scholars from India and abroad, participated. During the celebrations in June 1981, Part I of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Volume containing a spectrum of 27 valuable writings of Sastriar himself, like a newly strung Nakṣatra-garland, along with a Kāvya ' Gurucarita ' on him by his former student Prof. M. Ramakrishna Bhat, was brought out. The second part now issued carries select high class research articles by Indian and foreign scholars who personally participated in the celebration, and offered a bouquet of tribute to the savant, whose writings and speeches exuded the cream of his thought and were a model of excellence, authoritative and thought - provoking.

The celebrations brought together not only scholars, admirers and *śiṣya-paramparā* of Prof. Sastri but also long-standing friends of Sastriar and the Institute at the helm of administration like Sri R. Venkataraman, then Minister of Finance, Govt. of India. Sri R. Tirumalai, I.A.S., Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan, Secretary, Govt. of India, Prof. J. Filliozat and others. The celebration was indeed a landmark in the annals of the Institute, in that its recognition by the Govt. of India under the Ādarśa Samśodh Scheme became an actuality subsequently in April 1983. For the close associates of the Institute, this is a dream come true. The proceedings of the celebrations are given in detail in the preliminary section of this Volume.

It is my pleasant duty to sincerely thank all the participants who contributed in a large measure in the actual celebrations by their financial, academic and moral support. It is difficult to name them all here. However, I will be failing in my duty

if I do not acknowledge specially the unique, manifold assistance of Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan and Dr. C. R. Swaminathan, who as close associates of the Institute, gave due consideration to the potentiality available here and gave lease to it ; in addition they have also contributed valuable Forewords in English and Sanskrit to this volume. My debt to them is indeed great.

My thanks are due to the Ministry of Education for the financial assistance in bringing out this Volume and to Sri V. T. Rajan and Ramani Brothers Printers for their wonted neat execution. I am also thankful to the academic staff of the Institute for helping me to go through the proofs of this Volume.

Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri and the founders of the Institute stood for high ideals in life and academic pursuits. May the Institute founded and nourished with dedication in mem[illegible] of the great master and pioneer in Sanskrit and Indological studies in South India, [illegible] from strength to strength, and enrich the cultural life of the Indological world in India and outside !

Madras
20th May 1985

S. S. Janaki,
Director, *K.S.R. Institute.*

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Mm. Professor KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI

The Birth-Centenary of Mahāmahopādhyāya, Vidyāvācaspati, Dars'anəkalānidhi Kulapati S. Kuppuswami Sastri (1880 –1943)

SASTRIAR, A UNIQUE SCHOLAR - TEACHER

Sri S. Kuppuswami Sastri, blessed by Providence to become not merely a torch-bearer but also a unique 'ford-maker', a 'tīrthaṁkara' for Saṁskṛt studies in South India was born on 15-12-1880 at Gaṇapati Agrahāram in Tanjore district, on the bank of the Kāverī, one of the seven holiest rivers of India rendered holier still by the sojourn on its banks of realized souls like Sadāśivabrahmendra. He came of an illustrious, orthodox and enlightened family of traditional scholars. Even as a toddler he was initiated into Saṁskṛt, in particular into devotional hymns. While still at school he had the good fortune to be sent to Śrī Brahmendra Sarasvatī, also known as Paḷamāneri Svāmigal for the study of Vedānta, Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā. He studied Vyākaraṇa under Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstrigal.

This early training in śāstras under veteran teachers which he had alongside of his English education, coupled with his innate curiosity to go to the very root of all textual referential material, laid a solid foundation for his magnificent intellectual and academic build-up that commanded respect and awe, for rare indeed was such a combination. His native critical acumen was both enlarged and intensified by inculcation of a modern approach to the proper understanding of both Śāstras and Sāhitya. The two complementary tools of erudition and an open mind inspired him to seek perfection in anything he said or did in the academic and extra-academic fields. With the strong base of pūrva-mīmāṁsā he started studying law. After sometime he gave it up and instead took his M. A. degree.

As the first Principal of the Madras Saṁskṛt College and the Saṁskṛt College at Tiruvaiyaru, and as Professor of Saṁskṛt in the Madras Presidency College and as a member of the Senate and Academic council of the Madras University and later as Honorary Professor of Saṁskṛt in the Annamalai University he did yeoman service to the cause of Saṁskṛt and to university administration.

Reorganisation of Saṁskṛt studies at the University level in the B.A. (Hons.) course and the introduction of the Śiromaṇi course to preserve and foster traditional scholarship through recognised institutions are his noteworthy achievements. South India, particularly Madras State, owes its present creditable level of Saṁskṛt studies and research mostly to the far-sightedness of Śāstriar that shaped both traditional and modern Saṁskṛt education here on new lines of scholastic approach and discipline.

Śāstriar himself was an exemplar of intellectual honesty. Truly parental was his concern for the innumerable students whom he taught during the three and a half decades of his indefatigable educational stewardship.

As curator of the Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras and as founder of the Journal of Oriental Research and the Saṁskṛta Academy, Madras, he set the model for scrupulous, reliable and informative editorship, fair and penetrating discussion of literary problems and judicious presentation of material. In his participation in the oriental conferences, learned introductions to editions of Kāvyas and the works he himself edited, apart from his many special lectures in the university, he revealed both his critical and positive approach. By combining in himself the fine sensitivity of a connoisseur and the relentless pursuit of a seeker after truth in the Śāstras, he dispelled the popular notion that Śāstra and Sāhitya are incompatible, one being serene and the other gay. His lectures on literary criticism, his '*upalocana*' and his introduction to the *Brahmasiddhi* prove this.

His awesome countenance, dignified dress and a majestic gait hid the golden heart that overflowed with love. He was every inch a professor and a *guru* par-excellence.

HIS BIRTH CENTENARY YEAR 1980-81 : COMMEMORATION LECTURES, SEMINARS

For one so eminent, who had enriched the society he lived in, it is meet that the Institute founded as a fitting memorial to his all round greatness and scholarship celebrated his birth-centenary in a worthy manner both as a mark of gratitude and for deriving further inspiration. Rightly indeed the Institute celebrated 1980-81 itself as the Centenary Year with suitable lectures and seminars on diverse but related subjects of Saṁskṛt literature, Philosophy and culture.

Lectures were delivered as shown below by eminent scholars, Indian and foreign, in their chosen fields of study, giving information and inviting discussion.

Date	*Subject*	*Lecturer*
8-3-1980	Ritual and language	Prof. J. F. Stall (Berkely, California, U.S.A.)
20-4-1980	Kuntaka on Pratibhā	Dr. K. Krishnamurthi, Dharwar
7-6-1980	Science in Ancient India	Dr. K. V. Sharma, Hoshiarpur
30-7-1980 } 17-8-1980	Aṇugītā and Parāśaragītā in the Mahābhārata	Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran
11-1-1981	The play of opposites : Reality and Relation	Dr. Robert C. Lester, (Colorado, U.S.A.)
23-1-1981	Literature illumines Art	Dr, C. Sivaramamurthi, N. Delhi
15-3-1981	Outlook on Saṁskṛt Grammar	Dr. S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, Trivandrum.

Attendance at the lectures and both reception and reaction of the audience were encouraging.

Three seminars were conducted as part of the Centenary Year activity. The first of these was on Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, held on 25th May 1980 when the well-known Vedic scholar, Sri Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatachariar presided.

The following scholars participated :— Dr. H. Daniel Smith (Syracuse University, U.S.A.) ; Dr. K. K. A. Venkatachari (Bombay) ; Dr. V. Varadachari (Pondicherry) ; Dr. M. Narasimhachari, Dr. R. N. Sampath, Dr. A. Thiruvengadathan, Prof. M. R. Sampath Kumaran, all of Madras ; and Śri S. Krishnaswami Iyengar of Trichy.

Each drew attention to a particular aspect of the doctrine or practice of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism, the sum total being an exposition and discussion centering around the vital points like the Āgamas and the Divya Prabandha texts, 'Puruṣakāra' and the different grades of Bhakti.

It may be noted that while all the rest are Indians, steeped in local traditional values of Vaiṣṇavism, Dr. Smith of U.S.A. has been doing pioneering research on the Pāñcarātra Āgamas of Śrī Vaiṣṇavism for a quarter of a century.

The second seminar was on Śaivism on 13th July 1980, Dr. N. R. Bhatt of Pondicherry presiding. The participants were—Sṛi K. Balasubrahmanya Sastrigal, Dr. K. K. Pillai, Sri M. Ramanatha Dikshitar, Prof. P. Tirugnanasambandhan, Sri K. A. Sabharatnam Sivacarya and Dr. S. S. Janaki—all of Madras ; Sri Sambandha Sivacarya of Pondicherry and Mr. Wayne Surdam of Berkeley, California (U.S.A.). While each scholar stressed one point or aspect of Śaivism, a wide and comprehensive survey of Śaivism was achieved, the topics covered being the Śaiva āgamas and Tantras, Temple worship and temple symbolism, Śiva iconography, Śiva-tattva, various foms of Śiva, Śiva-concept in the Vedas, Śaktis and Mudrās.

The two seminars covering Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism brought into focus basic and vital elements of the two systems of worship and provided abundant information.

The third seminar of the Centenary Year was on Jyotiṣa, on 12th October 1980; It may be noted that Jyotiṣa, originally a Vedānga, was astronomical study and only later evolved into astrology. Dr. Arka Somayaji of Tirupati presided and the following scholars participated in the seminar :—Dr. George Abraham, Sri K. V. Seshadrinathan, Sri L. Narayanan, and Dr. N. Gangadharan, all of Madras ; Dr. K. V. Sharma of Varanasi ; Mr. M. A. Bhatt of Tirupati ; Sri K. V. Narayanan of Bangalore, Sri H. K. Krishnamurthi of Mysore and Sri Krishna Bhatt of Manipal. While the emphasis was on astronomy, the subjects expounded being Vasiṣṭha Siddhānta—formulae for determining the motion of the moon, concept of Rāhu, errors in observation of planets, astronomical study in Kerala and astronomical data in the Purāṇas ; astrological matter also was discussed like limitation of astrology and astrological influence of Mars. The president hailed it as the first seminar of its kind. The seminar was significant, in the light of the Institute having brought out two important publications on Astronomy, the Vākyakaraṇa and 'Sanskrit astronomical tables in England'.

All the three seminars were organized with care, were well attended and were appreciated as quite enlightening. The special lectures and seminars provided a satisfying fare and built up a congenial environment, spreading an intellectual aroma, for the actual holy centenary celebrations to follow.

CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

A large number of Indian scholars wanted to pay homage to the great savant. Those of the foreign scholars who were invited by the Institute and who would be visiting India in October-November 1981 to take part in V International Sanskrit Conference at Benares, had expressed their willingness to personally participate in the Birth-Centenary Celebrations. It was therefore decided to have the function in two sessions, the first in June 1981 for three days and the second for two days, on 31st Oct. and 1st November, 1981.

JUNE CELEBRATIONS

The inauguration of the Birth-Centenary Celebrations was a colourful affair, conducted in a tastefully decorated special pandal in the Sanskrit College compound for three days, the 19th, 20th and 21st of June 1981, the second day being celebrated as the Platinum Jubilee of the Madras Sanskrit College of which Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri had been the first principal.

Apart from the main Official functions, the three days were also packed with literary and cultural activity and entertainments. The celebrations were marked by a high degree of dignity and serenity.

On the 19th June, the opening day, the function started with *auspicious prayer* rendered with devotion by the members of the Kalakshetra, Madras. Smt. R. Vedavalli sang some fine verses that had been composed by the late Dr. V. Raghavan in praise of the beloved and loving Mahāmahopādhyāya. Dr. S. Ramanathan and his daughter then provided sweet music on the Vīṇā.

Sri K. Chandrasekharan, Secretary of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, welcoming the galaxy of participants said.—

" Brahmaśrī Varadachariar, Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Smt. Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan and Dr. Eliki Zannas, Delegates to the seminar and Pandits for the Vidwat Parishad! It is my very enviable privilege to offer a warm welcome to all of you gathered today to honour one of the outstanding Savants of this century in India, Mahāmahopādhyāya Kulapati, Darśana Kalānidhi Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. It is a matter for regret that our President Sri T. V. Viswanatha Aiyar has been unable to participate in this memorable occasion, owing to his illness.

It is rejoiceable that Sri Varadacharya, who is one of the earliest students of Sastriar in the Presidency College should be able to preside on this occasion despite his

advanced age. He is a true śiṣya of the professor having himself attempted to carry on the torch of knowledge of Sanskrit by founding a college in his place Chittugudur, Machilipatnam. To Dr. Dandeker we are grateful for being here to participate in this function and enable us to profit by his learning and experience in the research field. He is now Emeritus professor of Sanskrit, University of Pune and has to his credit many research papers and critical editions of works. To Smt. Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan, we extend our thanks. Though she is today a Joint Adviser in the Ministry of Education, Government of India, in her own right as a scholar who has contributed her own share in the field of researches in Dance and other arts, we appreciate much her continued interest in the advance of this Institute. We thank Mrs. Eliki Zannas for her presence and presentation of a Portrait of the Greek scholar Demitrious Galanas who had translated works of Sanskrit into his own language.

Prof. Sastriar's wide and deep scholarship in the Śāstras and his enthusiasm for modern research work have left an indelible impression on many a student pursuing Sanskrit studies both in this country as well as in the Western and Far Eastern worlds. It was the ambition of those who founded the K.S.R.I. to perpetuate Sastriar's memory in a fitting manner by raising an Institute for research whose dimensions and scope should be on a level with research institutes such as the Bhandarkar Institute of Pune and the Ganganatha Jha Institute of Allahabad. Sastriar's abilities have been of a very extensive nature in that he not only showed erudition of a master in the traditional śāstras as Mīmāmsā, Nyāya, Vedānta and Sāhitya but pursued them with an unusually critical discernment which helped him easily to fit in with a modern research outlook. Apart from being a great teacher whose *tapas* throughout was only to equip Vidyārthis with adequate knowledge of a kind which would sustain them to advance into fresh ventures of their own in spreading wholesome light of an ancient culture which is ever new, being ' Sanātana '.

Some of his students of the early days when he confined himself to teaching of Śāstras, became in their turn eminent teachers occupying high position, such as Mm. Ananthakrishna Sastri, Chinnaswami Sastri, Sastra Ratnakara T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar and Venkatesa Dikshitar. Later, after he began teaching students for the M. A. Degree in the Presidency College some of the outstanding among them such as our president Varadacharya, Dr. V. Raghavan, Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi of international reputation gave signal proof they had received under their master's training.

The late Dr. V. Raghavan was a unique instance of Sastriar's pupils. Born with a capacity for industry of a rare type, he was practically overshadowing most of the researchers by his all round interest in not only literature but in Dance, Music and Drama. Prodigious labours of his were responsible for not only a number of valuable articles in all the research journals of the East and West but in substantial volumes such as his. Bhoja's Sringara Prakasa'. To catalogue to you his services to the cause of Sanskrit studies may lead me to deviate from today's most outstanding achievement of his, of not only in watching with care this institute but also straining all his efforts to make

its presence a living monument to the memory of his beloved Guru Prof. Sastriar. Apart from his indefatigable contribution to its high standard of research work, he has unusually made it possible by collection of funds to meet some of its growing needs. It was almost his own endeavour that was responsible for the building of an upper hall on the present groundfloor of the Institute. It is appropriate that the hall should be named after him as 'Dr. V. R. Mandiram'.

Now we have a tale of dissatisfaction to unfold concerning our lack of adequate capital funds to maintain this useful institute. The small capital which we own is not sufficient to run the institute. We have only Dr. S. S. Janaki, the Curator and a typist. The Curator is a devoted worker and her deep concern for continuing the work of her own Guru Dr. Raghavan has been the mainstay of ours in going forward with the work taken up. The Central Government's grant annually is meagre and the special grants for separate projects have been slender and infrequent. Our publication scheme of valuable manuscripts with critical editing leaves much to be desired in financing the task.

No doubt for this celebration we are assured special grants from the Central Ministry for meeting the heavy expenses but the matching ability of ours to the amounts so obtained has to be considerably augmented by donations from the generous public of whom individual industrialists such as Sarvasri T. S. Santhanam, A. Sivasailam, N. Mahalingam, Raja Muthiah Chettiar, have to be mentioned for the sympathy and also co-operation in many other ways.

The year of Sastriar's birth-centenary celebrations has been one of an active nature as a number of scholars versed in various subjects both in Sahitya and Indology have delivered lectures and presented papers which are of immense value. The K.S.R.I. will be publishing the papers in a separate volume soon.

This occasion in the annals of the Institute is one of much importance when scholars with vision] of a practical nature could suggest ways and means to advance our work ahead. The need for engaging permanent scholars of the Institute with salaries is a very imminent problem if the Institute has to continue its own rich contribution and prove a source of inducement to specialised research scholars of the future generation.

Loyalty to the great memory and love of the work have hitherto provided the main strength to the Journal of Oriental Research which started its brilliant career directly under the aegis of the Professor himself in 1927. The latest number of it will early see the light of day and be a witness to the solid contributions made to widen knowledge in many fields of allied interest to both literature and Indology.

One word more is necessary to inform the learned audience here that in November of this year 1981, we propose having another session of seminars when scholars from foreign countries who will be then in India in connection with the International Sanskrit Conference to be held in Varanasi, will be responding to our invitation to participate in our's also.

Indeed a birth-centenary observance of a great savant and a 'Darśana Kalānidhi' should enable us to foster the birth of fresh enthusiasm in the hearts and minds of the generations to come. If we succeed in the sacred task of revival of greater interest in Sanskrit study by the birth-centenary of a revered Kulapati of profound scholarship and a preceptor to masters in the field of education, we would really leave to posterity a feeling of *kṛta-kṛtyatva.*

Once again I welcome all of you who love Sanskrit and try to help morally and materially in this noble task."

Blessings for the successful and fruitful conduct of the celebrations were received from H. H. the Sankaracharyas of Sringeri and H. H. the Sakaracharyas of Kanchi Komakoti Pitha.

Messages wishing the function success were received from all over India, from the Vice-President and the Prime Minister of India, Governors of States and eminent educationists and industrialists and public men and institutions. Chief among them were:

Smt Indira Gandhi—Prime Minister of India; Sri Hidayatulla—Vice-President of India; Governors of Karnataka and Kerala; Director, Rashtriya Sanskrit Samsthan; Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya; Sri. M. P. Sivagnanam, Chairman, Legislative Council, Madras; Sri. C. Ramadas, Secretary to Govt. Education Dept. Madras; Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University; Sri Kashikar, Deccan College, P. G. and Research Institute, Pune; Kerala Sahitya Academi, Trivandrum; Akhila Bharatiya Samskrit Parishad, Lucknow, U.P.; Sri. P. K. Narayana Pillai, Ulloor memorial, Trivandrum; Principal, Rajah's College, Trivandrum; Kamban Adippodi, Karaikudi; Sri. N. Mahalingam, Pollachi; Sri. D. C. Kothari, Madras; Sri. P. N. Appuswami; Sri. O. S. Rajagopal; Smt. Devaki menon.

Dr. S. S. Janaki, Curator, K. S. R. Institute, read the Blessing letters and the messages.

Presidential Speech: It was in the fitness of things and a matter of great good fortune that Sri S. T. G. Varadachariar who had been in the first batch of Sastriar's students, now an octogenarian, presided over the opening function. In a short speech he recalled Sastriar's care and concern for his students and recited nine verses (*navaratna-mālā*) composed in adoration of his teacher. In the course of his speech he said:

"I have great pleasure to participate in this function. I was a student at the Presidency College. Professor Rangachariar was my first guru. Then Prof. Kuppuswamy Sastriar was asked to take over. I was his student and also belonged to the first set of Honours Students. Kuppuswamy Sastriar loved me very much, and then

when I applied for recognition for Narasimha Sanskrit College, even without seeing my College, he gave me permission to start the College; and even without seeing the College, he complimented me upon being responsible for starting the College. Then I came here at the invitation of friends and then I recited some verses. Now I am going to read them.

नवरत्नमाला

अधीतमध्यापितमर्जितं यशः तथापि नूनं श्रम एव सम्भृतः ।
विधेहि तस्मान्मयि निर्वृतिं परां प्रपन्न एवं विदुषा स पातु वः ॥

अवैषि शास्त्रेषु कृतावगाहनो गाम्भीर्यमेषां न तथापरो जनः ।
यथा जिघृक्षुः सुमणीन्महोदधेः न नाविको लङ्घनबद्धमानसः ॥

भवता पदवी च तया च भवानुभयेन कलानिलयः शुशुभे ।
त्रितयञ्च मिथः सदृशं गणयन् सुजनः सकलो नितरां मुमुदे ॥

विद्यावाचस्पतिरिति वङ्गैः दर्शनकलानिधिर्यतिभिः ।
प्रभुभिर्महामहोपाध्यायो गुरुभिः कुलपतिश्च ॥

बहुधैवं भूयोभिर्भणितस्सन्नेकको ऽद्वितीयश्च ।
बिभृषे ब्रह्मन् ब्रह्मण आभामथवा तदेवासि ॥

श्रान्तं न विच्छेदमवाप्नुतो यदध्यक्षता ते जितकाशिता च ।
अनुग्रहोऽयं नियमेन वाण्या भवत्समाराधनतोषितायाः ॥

धन्यो भवानस्ति यतोऽपनीतं वाग्देवताया ऋणमप्यशेषम् ।
तदर्थिनामेवमनुग्रहेण तद्विद्विषां चापि सुनिग्रहेण ॥

शिष्यास्सदा श्राम्यत एव दिक्षु सार्कं यशोभिस्तव विप्रकीर्णाः ।
कृतित्वमेवं भजतो भवेत्ते विश्रान्तिरायुष्यमनामयं च ॥

प्रथमस्ते शिष्याणां वरदाख्यो महत्त्वयोपकृतः ।
निरतिशयां त्वयि भक्तिं गुरूत्तमैवं प्रकाशयति ॥

Announcements and Release of Publications : Following the Presidential Address Padmabhushan Dr. C. Sivaramamuthi, Director, National Museum (Retd.) and Vice-President of the K.S.R.I. announced that the Vīracarita, an interesting and rare poem dealing with the three complex personalities in Indian literature—Vikramāditya, Sālivāhana and Śūdraka based upon an Adyar manuscript and a Ms. in the India Office Library London, secured by Dr. S. S. Janaki—would soon be brought out as a Birth-Centenary project. Sri Sivaramamurthi also announced the following publications :

1. Mm. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri Birth-Centenary Commemoration Volume comprising all the valuable writings of Sastriar, together with a Kāvya on him by one of his talented and devoted students, Dr. Ramakrishna Bhatt.

2. A sumptuous issue of the Journal of Oriental Research Vols. 40-41 containing the Proceedings of the Silver Jubilee of the Institute celebrated in 1971 with Prof. K.A.S. Iyer, retired Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University as President and the internationally renowned Indologist Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee as the Chief guest.

3. The Gadyakarṇāmṛta, a prose historical Kāvya of great importance critically analysed, assessed and edited from Mss. by Dr. S. S. Janaki.

In announcing the Volumes, Dr. Sivaramamurthi dealt with the chief aspects of the works and details of their publication. He recalled with emotional favour the great inimitable Acharya's love for his students.

Sri. S.T.G. Varadacharya released these publications and presented their first copies to Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan, Sri. K. Chandrasekharan, Sri. V. T. Rajan, Dr. K. Krishnamurthi, Dr. K. V. Sharma and Dr. C. R. Swaminathan. Later copies were presented to the distinguished participants in the celebrations.

Inauguration : Then Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan, the then Joint Educational Adviser, Govt. of India and a close associate of the Institute for more than three decades, inaugurated the three-day celebrations. In the course of her extempore speech she said:—

"I was called here to be with you on this occasion this morning and would like to be here throughout the three-day function and the connected seminars. I am here as a *Pratinidhi* or a representative of someone else who should have been here. I have been called to say something about the great scholar Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri. It is indeed a great opportunity for me to speak about him and about the work he has done for the Sanskrit education. I would first like to say that his life has inspired the past as well as the future. It seems that I am really fortunate to speak about a man who has contributed a lot to the scholarship of a great generation with his life and work-Besides, he represented a vision, an insight, which was that of an Indian towards the past and towards his future. The Mahāmahopādhyāya came into this great city and into

this great State of Tamil Nadu along with the great scholars who have inspired the people and everyone throughout. For the last 30 years of my life, I have taken interest in this part of India where both Tamil and Sanskrit scholars have lived together to foster their respective language culture.

Medieval scholarships are the two streams which have always joined with the third as Triveṇī, namely that of Sanskrit, of regional language like Tamil and the international English. And those who have personally known Prof. Sastri and those who have written about him, consider him as a noted Sanskrit scholar and reputed philosopher who has built a bridge between traditional Sanskrit learning and modern scholarship, the past and the future, *Śāstra* and *Kavittva*, as also Poet and Critic. What was he striving for ? In him there is certainly a blending of cultures and traditions.

His whole life-history brings forth something very constructive of this harmonious blend. In doing so he laid the foundation of a whole line of scholars for which we are most grateful. They are just like Sri Varadachariar, Dr. Raghavan, T. N. Ramachandran, Dr. Sivaramamurthi and a host of others. These are different minds, these are different stars and yet they are the products of this one mind which is nurturing us, fostering us, stimulating us and provoking us. For the Birth-centenary of such a pioneering scholar-teacher we have one of the greatest representatives of this line of learning who is amongst us today, namely Dr. Dandekar.

I am much concerned about this interdisciplinary harmonising approach-as a humble scholar, as an administrator, and above all, concerned as an Indian citizen, concerned that this language and its knowledge are to flow through smoothly like a stream. In some quarters it is said that such studies are languishing. I do not agree on this point. Rather I would say that this country, that has passed through many threats and vicissitudes in its long course of history, has always risen to the occasion to overcome those challenges. And then Sanskrit has been always virtually a uniting force in achieving that and also bringing about the required physical, emotional and sentimental environment.

I said a little while ago, that Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar was a representative of this rich heritage and great tradition. What is the validity of this great heritage ? What is its utility in the present times in which Science and Technology are of prime importance ? The Sanskrit language and literature contain much scientific information but these have to be studied as an inter-disciplinary effort, analysed and properly assessed. Some foreign, and Indian Indologists are interested in such inter-disciplinary approach and this is very commendable. But I feel that there are endless possibilities of understanding, redeeming and then interpreting all such ancient knowledge in terms of modern developments. And I repeatedly say that these two systems, the systems of traditional learning and the system of modern education must be brought together. I feel a structural link must be created. It was Prof. Sastriar who initiated such a synthesis in this rich Tamil country. And with these words, I have great pleasure in inaugurating this function."

Commemoration Address: Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Emeritus Professor of Sanskrit, Pune University and one of the senior Indologists of today, first paying his tributes to Sastriar said :—

"My first word this morning is one of sincere gratitude to the authorities of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, especially to Dr. S. S. Janaki, for the opportunity they have given me to pay my tribute of piety and reverence to the hallowed memory of the great savant, whose name this Institute proudly bears, on the occasion of his birth-centenary. Indeed, in my capacitv as President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, I may claim to be in a position to augment my own personal tribute by adding to it the respectful homage of the world-community of Sanskritists. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri was verily an ideal Sanskrit scholar—an erudite Pandit profoundly versed in the basic texts of the various Śāstras, a keen connoisseur of poetry and drama, and an insightful researcher equipped with modern critical and interdisciplinary methodology. He refused to compromise in the matter of rigorous intellectual honesty and high academic standard; but, at the same time, he literally did not spare himself when it came to helping his students in their earnest scholarly pursuits. His creed seems to have been: *śiṣyaprakarṣo yaśase gurūṇām*. And his students also reciprocated this attitude with feelings of affectionate devotion; witness these words of my friend Dr. Raghavan :

mokṣād api bhuvi jñānadānam ye menire 'dhikam |
apūrvabodhisattvebhyas tebhyaḥ santu namāmsi naḥ ||

By all accounts, Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri was a great and outstandingly successful teacher, who believed that, in education, knowledge was superior to mere information, wisdom was superior to mere knowledge, and character was superior to all these three. It has been rightly said :

guravo bahavaḥ santi śiṣyavittāpahāriṇaḥ |
guravo viralāḥ santi śiṣyacittāpahāriṇaḥ ||

The large concourse of the pupils, and the pupils' pupils, of Sastriji that has assembled here to pay their spiritual *guru-dakṣiṇā* is a convincing testimony—if any such was at all needed—to the fact that he belonged to that rare category of teachers. May his name and work prove a perennial source of inspiration and sustenance to successive generations of teachers and students of Sanskrit!"

Then Prof. Dandekar delivered the Commemoration Address on "Some Aspects of Vedic Exegises" (the text of this is printed elsewhere in this volume).

Honouring of Sastriar's Students: Dr. Dandekar also honoured, on behalf of the Institute, seven of Sastriar's distinguished students (Śiṣya-Paramparā), one posthumously, two in absentia and four in person.

The honour was conferred posthumously upon Padmabhushan *Dr. V. Raghavan* who had achieved international reputation for his intensive research work and multifaceted erudition and who had been associated with universities the world over. He was the best, by achievement, among Sastriar's students and as the founder secretary of the K.S.R. Institute was associated with it since its inception until his sad demise. Had he been alive, he would have really made the celebrations still more glorious. It is a sad turn of fate that he was snatched away two years before the Centenary of Sastriar to whom he was greatly devoted and whose torch of learning and research he held aloft. The K.S.R. Institute and the Journal of Oriental Research owe their growth and renown in no small measure to Dr. Raghavan's indefatigable zeal. As a lasting memory of his contribution, the first floor of the Institute premises was named "Śrī-Rāghava mandiram".

Of the two scholars honoured *in absentia Smt. Ambadi Devaki Amma* has the distinction of being the first as well as a first class lady student of Sastriar in the Presidency College, and took her B.A. (Hons.) in 1927. An eminent Professor of Sanskrit in the Queen Mary's College, Madras, she is also a versatile writer. The other scholar-poet, *Prof. M. Ramakrishna Bhatt*, with a distinguished academic career, became a respected and admired teacher of Sanskrit and author of poems on a wide range of subjects in Sanskrit and cultural and historical works in Kannada, English and Sanskrit. He has specially composed a poem on Kuppuswami Sastri for the Commemoration of his birth-centenary. The poem is published in the commemoration volume (Part I).

Among those who received the honour in person, Sri *S. T. G. Varadachariar* was the oldest of Sastriar's students walking faithfully in Sastriar's footsteps as a good teacher, a creative writer and the founder of a pre-eminent college for traditional Sanskrit learning, with such honours as Kalāprapūrṇa conferred on him.

Sri A. Shanmukha Mudaliar, B.A. (Hons.) of 1927 has retired after a long and glorious service as Professor of Sanskrit in the Pachaiyappa's College, Madras. Interested in staging of Sanskrit dramas and associated with a large number of the academic bodies of many Universities, he has played a useful part in the spread of Sanskrit education. He has also been long associated with both K. S. R. Institute and the Samskrita Academy as their secretary.

Padmabhushan Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi is another among Sastriar's students who rose to great eminence by dint of critical study and creative art. He retired as the Director of the National Museum, Delhi. Author of many books, mostly on art, illustrated by himself, he has been an inspiring Vice-President of the K. S. R. Institute, helping it to march towards the achievement of its ideals.

Sri A. S. Viswanatha Panth belonged to the last batch of Sastriar's students in the Presidency College. Having served the Sanskrit Muse in Birla College, Pilani, after retirement he has been attached to the Chinmaya Mission and Sankara Maṭha in Bombay as a Vedanta teacher.

After the Commemoration Address was delivered. *Dr. (Mrs.) Eliki Zannas*, Cultural Counsellor of the Greek Embassay, New Delhi, spoke of a little-known but prolific Greek Sanskritist of the ninteenth century, Demetrious Galanos, a contemporary of the better known Sir William Jones. Galanos has almost pioneered translation work from Sanskrit originals and has produced much. He came to India, lived in Indian style and died at Benares. Dr. Zannas' article on Demetrious Galanos is published elsewhere in this Volume. She also presented a fine portrait of Galanos to adorn the gallery of the Institute.

Honorary Fellowship Conferred: It was but proper that the eminent scholars and administrators who have done much for the cause of Sanskrit and who have enhanced by their participation the glory and usefulness of the celebrations should be honoured duly and that too by the grand old man, the President of the function, Sri S.T.G. Varadacharya, by conferment of Honorary Fellowship of the K.S.R. Institute. So honoured were.—

Dr. R. N. Dandekar, a doyen among Sanskritists, author of a good number of works of high standard on Sanskrit and Vedic subjects, has been associated with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for a long time. He is the President of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies and Internatlonal Union for Oriental and Asian Studies, apart from his association with various foreign universities.

Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan, Joint Educational Adviser * to the Govt. of India—is a unique blend of proficienty in fine arts and fine administratorship. Amongst other things, she has made an impressive study of the Rāmāyaṇa and Gita Govinda from the literary and artistic perspectives. Her abiding interest in Sanskrit studies is remarkable, as seen in her books and in her lectures delivered in India and abroad.

Dr. (Mrs.) Elike Zannas is an avid scholar of Greek Art and is interested in the art of all countries. A linguist, she is learning Sanskrit in Benares. Her skill, knowledge and interest enable her, as cultural Counsellor at the Greek Embassy in Delhi, to play her role efficiently in creating greater cultural understanding between two countries, both of which are proud possessors of a hoary culture.

Sri R. Tirumalai is a versatile scholar in Tamil and Sanskrit and a historian by education. An able administrator for three decades, with tireless zeal for the study of ancient administration, he is the author of some books, with many more in the making. He is now a Jawaharlal Nehru Fellow working on 'Pāṇḍyan Townships'.

Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandan, one of the Secretaries of the Institute and a former research student of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar in the Annamalai University, proposed

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* At present she is the Director of Indira Gandhi Cultural Complex with the rank of a full Secretary to the Government.

a vote of thanks to the chief guests and participants in the celebrations. Samskrita Mangalam composed by Dr. V. Raghavan was sung by Smt. R. Vedavalli and this brought the first day's meeting to a close.

20-6-81 was utilized by the Sanskrit College, Madras for the celebration of its Platinum Jubilee as part of the Kuppuswami Sastri Centenary Celebrations as Sastriar had been its first principal.

VALEDICTION OF JUNE CELEBRATIONS

The concluding function of the inaugural session was held on 21-6-81 when Hon'ble R. Venkataraman, the then Minister for Finance, Govt. of India, presided. Stressing the need for the revival of Sanskrit as an essential means to achieving and preserving cultural unity and national integration, Sri Venkataraman said—" We seem to have an anathema towards our ancient languages in our country, we also seem to have developed a puritanism about languages which has marred rather than helped the growth of the languages themselves. All over the world, we are aware that languages have, by cross-fertilisation, enriched themselves and many words have been taken from different languages in order to express ideas and sentiments which are not generally found in one's own language. No language by itself is complete, and every language in this world has grown and even in the past it was so. It is rather necessary that we should strive and bring back that catholicity of outlook in respect of languages and see that we bring back again into our system a respect for all languages and a desire to use all of them for the betterment of humanity as a whole. We also talk of our cultural unity of India, we talk of national integration. India is a country in which there are big differences and language differences. In ancient times the one thing which cemented the relationship between all the parts of India was the Sanskrit language and it brought about the national integration. It is very necessary that from the point of view of our modern requirements as well, we develop this language. The need for developing Sanskrit as a language of culture representing India, its ancient philosophy and its ancient tradition, should be realized. I will, therefore, say that whatever needs to be done to preserve this ancient heritage of ours must be done. It would be possible if all of us put our shoulders to the wheel and try to get specific programmes properly prepared and put forth. It will not be difficult for the Governmənt to accept these schemes. In fact research in Sanskrit has a high priority and I do think that it will get the priority it deserves.

Sri R. Venkataraman then paid tributes to Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar and spoke of the Professor's contribution to the revival of Sanskrit language. In so doing he said: " Somehow I always, used to feel that there was an effulgence in his face, something that told everybody that he was a great scholar. In fact he gave the impression of a high scholar and a person who always radiated some kind of wisdom and knowledge. His own life was one of great contributions to development. He was the one man who developed new systems and also preserved and enhanced the prestige and influence of

the old system. His was a very great contribution to the revival of Sanskrit. I am sure that his memory will endure for ever".

Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, retired professor of Philosophy, University of Madras, unveiled a portrait of the late Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, former President of India and the President of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute till his death. He paid a rich tribute to Dr. Radhakrishnan's contribution to philosophical understanding and to Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri's invaluable service to the cause of Sanskrit learning and research.

Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi delivered the Valedictory address. Ha recalled Sastriar's boundless zeal for teaching and his sincere concern for the welfare of his students, with such emotional excitement that it kindled wishful memories in those of the older generation who had seen and known Sastriar, who had been blessed to be his disciples or acquaintances and made the younger people wonder if there really could be such a person.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED

At the Plenary Session of the conference Dr. K. Krishnamurthi, Dharwar University, Dharwar proposed the following resolution:

'The Plenary Session of the Mahamahopadhyaya Kuppuswami Sastri Birth-Centenary Conference resolves to appeal to the Government of India and the people of Tamilnadu to develop the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute into an important international centre for research on the line of centres like the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona and the Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, Hoshiarpur etc. The conference further resolves to authorize Prof. Sivaramamurthi to present a project report on the future of the K.S.R.I. to the Finance Minister, Govt. of India, on the occasion of the valedictory function of the conference. For the project Sri C. Sivaramamurthi will identify the rich manuscript resources and expertise available in this part of the country and the scope for Indological research, especially with a view to interlinking it with science and technology and contemporary needs of the University system".

The resolution was seconded by Dr. K. V. Sharma, Vishveshvaranand Research Institute, Hoshiarpur and adopted. As per the resolution the project report was prepared and submitted to the Finance Minister.

SEMINARS

The Celebrations provided rich intellectual food in the form of Seminars on all the three days (19th to 21st June).

19-6-1981

I. SAHITYA: LITERATURE AND CRITICISM

President : Dr. S. Venkitasubramoni Iyer
(Retired Professor of Sanskrit, Kerala University)

Speakers	*Subjects*
Dr. S. Venkitasubramoni Iyer	: The Syānandūra Prabandha of Svāti Tirunāḷ.
Dr. K. V. Sarma (V. V. R. Institute Hoshiarpur)	: Pāṇḍyakulodayam of Maṇḍalakavi.
Dr. N. P. Unni (Prof. of Sanskrit, Kerala)	: The Heroine of Śukasandeśa
Dr. S. S. Janaki (Curator, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute)	: A Unique drama— Svarṇamuktāsamvāda
Dr. (Mrs.) E. R. Ramabai (Sanskrit Department, Madras University)	: Uttara(rāma) Campū of Veṅkaṭādhvarin - a brief analysis.
Dr. M. V. Nalini (Skt. Dept. Madras University)	: Humour in the Prabandha of Melputtur Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.
Dr. K. Krishnamurthi (Prof. of Sanskrit, Dharwar University)	: New light on Bharata's lakṣaṇa and related topics.
Dr. (Miss) S. Meera (Sanskrit Dept. Madras University)	: Samvāda or Plagiarism as viewed by Sanskrit Ālaṅkārika-s.
Sri V. L. Sethuraman (Prof. of Skt. Madras Christian College)	: Was Amaru a South Indian ?
Dr. M. Sivakumaraswamy (Prof. of Sanskrit, Bangalore University)	: Kuntaka's conception of Rasavadādyalaṁkāra
Dr. M. S. Menon (Prof. of Sanskrit, University of Calicut)	: Punnasseri Nilakantha Sarma

II. EPIGRAPHY

President: Sri R. Tirumalai, I. A. S. (Member, Planning and Economic Coordination Commission, Govt. of India).

Participant		*Subject*
Sri R. Tirumalai, N. Delhi	:	Grant, Resumption and Regrant.
Dr. K. V. Ramesh (Chief Epigraphist, Mysore).	:	The History of the Sanskrit language as gleaned from Inscriptions.
Sri Iravatham Mahadevan, Madras	:	Decipherment of an Inscription at Arikamedu.
Dr. B. R. Gopal (Reader in South Indian Studies, University of Mysore)	:	Three Interesting subdeeds of the 12th-14th centuries.
Sri Natana Kasinathan (Deputy Director, Dept. of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu.)	:	Pramāṇams in Inscriptions.
Smt. M. Gandhi (Epigraphist, Dept. of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu.)	:	A bilingual Inscription of Raja Raja Chola.
Sri Hariharan (Registration Officer, Tirunelveli)	:	A Sanskrit Inscription from Nellaiyappan Temple.
Sri S. P. Tewari (Deputy Superintendent Epigraphist, Mysore)	:	An earliest epigraphical reference to Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha.
Mr. Abdul Majeed (Registering Officer, Tiruchirappalli)	:	Eka-puṣpa-priyanātha Swami temple and its inscriptions.
Sri K. Sridharan (Archaeologist)	:	Gangai Konda Cholapuram excavation—A report.
Miss. R. Vanaja (Delhi)	:	A new bilingual Coin of Viṣṇuputra Pulamayi.

III. SANSKRIT AND TAMIL

President: Sri M. Arunachalam

Participant		*Subject*
Prof. N. R. Bhatt (Institute of Indolgy, Pondicherry)	:	Āgamas and Vedas
Prof. H. P. Malladevaru (Prof. of Sanskrit, Mysore University)	:	Age of Śaivāgamas
Sri M. Arunachalam (Kumbhakonam)	:	Śaiva Śāstras in Sanskrit.
Mr. Wayne Surdam (Ph. D. Candidate, Berkeley, California, U.S.)	:	The Poetry of Tirumūlar and its place in the Tamil Śaivite tradition.

Participant		*Subject*
Dr. A. Thiruvengadathan (Prof. of Sanskrit, Vaishnava College, Madras)	:	Tamil Movement in Śrīvaiṣṇavism.
Dr. V. K. S. N. Raghavan (Philosophy Dept. Madras University)	:	Ācārya Bhakti in Sanskrit and Tamil works.
Prof. P. Thirugnanasambandan (Retd. Prof. of Sanskrit, Presidency College)	:	Treatment of grammar in Sanskrit and Tamil.
Dr. G. Vijayavenugopal (Reader in Tamil, Madurai Kamaraj University)	:	Impact of Nyāya Vaiśeṣika concepts on Tamil grammatical Commentaries.
Sri S. K. Ramarajan (Kamba Nilayam, Vellore, Salem Dt.)	:	Kumārasambhavam in Tamil (verse).
Prof. V. Venkatachalam (Prof. of Sanskrit, Vikram University, Ujjain)	:	Similes of Tiruvaḷḷuvar and Kālidāsa.
Dr. C. S. Sundaram (Reader in Sanskrit, Madras University)	:	Lute-episode in Jīvandhara story.
Dr. R. Vijayalakshmi (International Institute of Tamil Studies, Madras)	:	Some common motifs in Jain narrative Literature.

20-6-1981

IV. YOGA AND ĀYURVEDA

President: Dr. V. Narayanaswami (Madras)

Participant		*Subject*
Sri N. V. Naidu (Coimbatore)	:	Materialist study of Patañjali's Yoga.
Dr. V. Narayanaswami	:	Ayurvedic Dietetics
Dr. G. U. Thite (Lecturer in Skt. Poona University)	:	Prophylactics in Ancient Indian Medicine.
Dr. Viswanatha Sarma (Madras)	:	Yoga system of Thought.
Dr. Balambal (Madras)	:	Yoga.

V. VEDIC STUDIES AND VYĀKARAṆA

President: Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatacharya

Participant		*Subject*
Sri Agnihotram Ramanuja Tatacharya (Madras)	:	God-head in ṚgVeda.
Sri T. N. Dharmadhikari (Vaidika Samsodhan Mandal, Poona)	:	Untraced Kalpa citations in Sāyaṇa's commentary.

Participant		*Subject*
Dr. C. G. Kashikar (Deccan College, Poona)	:	Area of Śyenaciti in the Āpastamba tradition.
Dr. S. A. Dange (Prof. of Sanskrit, Bombay University)	:	Features of Tāntrism and the Veda.
Dr. S. G. Kantawala (M. S. University, Baroda)	:	ṚgVeda I—154 ; 6. A study in sectarian interpretation.
Dr. F. M. Smith (Poona)	:	Current position of Vedic sacrificial ritual in Maharashtra and Karnataka.
Prof. M. Ramakrishna Bhatt (Retd. Prof. of Skt. Delhi University)	:	Astrological elements in Pāṇini.
Prof. P. Sriramamurthy (Prof. of Skt. Andhra University)	:	The Concept of Mahāvākya according to Vaiyākaraṇas.
Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran (Retd. Prof. of Skt. Annamalai University)	:	Vasiṣṭha in early Sanskrit literature.
Sri Swaminatha Atreya (Tanjore)	:	Lokanyāyas in Mahābhāṣya.

VI. ŚĀSTRAS-PŪRVA AND UTTARA MĪMĀMSĀS, NYĀYA

President : Dr. E. Sree Krishna Sarma
(S. V. University, Tirupati)

Participant		*Subject*
Dr. V. Varadachari (Institute of Indology, Pondichery)	:	Tamori and Timirāri, two ancient writers in Śāstras.
Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja (Director, Adyar Library, Madras)	:	Mīmāṁsā and linguistic problems.
Sri R. Thangaswami (Lecturer in Sanskrit, Madras University)	:	Pramāṇas according to Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā (Sanskrit).
Prof. A. S. Viswanatha Panth (Sankara Math, Bombay)	:	Some aspects of anumāna as discussed in Nyāya Vaiśeṣika texts.
Dr. Satyadeva Misra (Birla Institute of Technology, Pilani)	:	Ābhāsa theory of Sureśvarācārya.
Dr. Ramamurthi Sharma (Prof. of Sanskrit, Punjab University, Chandigarh)	:	Dṛṣṭi-Sṛṣṭivāda in Vedānta.
Dr. S. Sankaranarayan (Director, Oriental Research Institute, S. V. University, Tirupati)	:	Date and patron of Vācaspati Miśra—a new approach.

Participant		*Subject*
Dr. C. Markandeya Sastri (Joint Director, School Education, Hyderabad, A.P.)	:	Sureśvara's Mānasollāsa on Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra.
Dr. E. R. Sree Krishna Sarma	:	Further focus on Maṇḍana-Sureśvara problem.

VII. SAṄGĪTA

President : Prof. G. H. Tarlekar
(Retd. Prof. of Sanskrit, Dhulia)

Participant		*Subject*
Prof. G. H. Tarlekar	:	The significance of Tāla-laya in India.
Dr. S. Sita (Prof. of Music, Madras University)	:	Rāga and Rāga-ālāpana in Saṅgīta-samaya-sāra.
Dr. Premalatha Sharma (Head of the Dept. of Musicology, Banares Hindu University)	:	The textual tradition of Saṅgīta Śāstra in Sanskrit.
Dr. N. Ramanathan (Music Dept. Madras University)	:	Bṛhaddeśī and Abhinava Bhāratī.
Mrs. Vidya Shankar (Madras)	:	Sanskrit and Music.
Dr. S. Ramanathan (Madras)	:	Saṅgītaratnākara and Tyāgarāja.

VIII. ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

President : Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan
(Joint Educational Adviser, Govt. of India, New Delhi)

Participant		*Subject*
Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi, N. Delhi	:	Bhavo hi lokābhyudayāya tādṛśām.
Dr. R. Nagaswamy (Director, Archaeology Dept. Madras)	:	Devi Shrines in Śiva Temple-a reappraisal.
Dr. Chitra Viji (Madras University)	:	Certain representations of Sūrya in Tamilnadu.
Dr. M. S. Nagaraja Rao (Director of Museums and Archaeology, Karnataka)	:	Caves of the early iron-using people at Komaranahalli.

IX. GENERAL

President : Dr. C. S. Venkateswaran
(Retd. Prof. of Skt., Annamalai University)

This seminar on miscellaneous subjects was held mainly to afford an opportunity to enthusiasts who could not participate in the earlier seminars but who had something to say especially on certain academic subjects not covered in the earlier seminars.

Participant		*Subject*
Dr. R. N. Sampath	:	Bhakti in Padmapurāṇa
Dr. N. Gangadharan	:	Certain Geographical concepts in the Purāṇas.
Sri P. K. Rajagopala Iyer	:	Potentialities of Mantras.
Dr. S. R. Swaminathan, (College of St. Rose Albany, New York)	:	W. B. Yeats and Vedanta.

At the end of the seminar, after the lectures and discussions, Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University, gave a brief resume of the salient points in the lectures, complimented them on their contribution to the discussions and proposed a vote of thanks which brought the seminar session to a close.

KAVI-SAMMELANAM

A poet's meet is a *sine qua non* for the celebrations that honour one to whom the holiest and the most delectable combination in the field of literature was that of the creative poet and the discerning critic, the Kavi and the Sahṛdaya.

On 21-6-81 there was a delightful gathering of scholars who presented their compositions, some prepared and some extempore, verses in praise of the *mahāmahopādhyāya* and also verses on light themes or in light vein and as Samasyāpūraṇa,

Dr. C. R. Swaminathan presided over the Kavi Sammelana.

Participants		Theme
1. Sri V. H. Subrahmanya Sastri (Retired Principal, Sanskrit College, Madras)	:	Invocatory verses.
2. Sri K. Balasubramanya Sastri (Retd. Principal, Sanskrit College Madras.)	:	In praise of Sāstriar (Samskṛta-saraṇiḥ).
3. Dr. K. Krishnamurthi (Prof. of Sanskrit, Dharwar)	:	Padya-Prasūnāñjaliḥ
4. Sri B. Narasimhacharya (Osmania University, Hyderabad)	:	Smṛtyañjalipañcaratna.
5. Sri V. Swaminatha Atreya (Thanjavur)	:	Verses in homage (आचार्यस्तुति:)
6. Smt. Devakī Menon (Assam) (sent the verses to be read in absentia)	:	Verses in homage.
7. Sri T. V. Anantaramaseshan (Asst. Editor, The Hindu)	:	Random verses.
8. Sri Bhai Shankar Purohit	:	do.
9. Smt. Premalatha Sharma	:	Rāgastuti and Rathayātrā-varṇanam.
10. Dr. K. K. Raja (Prof. of Sanskrit, Madras University)	:	Rajatoḍupaḥ and Dīrghayātrā.
11. Sri P. K. Rajagopala Iyer	:	On Sanskrit etc.
12. Sri P. S. Ramamurthi	:	do.
13. Prof. P. Sriramamurthi	:	do.
14. Sri A. V. Subramanyan (Addl. General Manager, Southern Railway)	:	Vāgdevīvarivasyā.
15. Prof. Venkatachalam (Prof. of Sanskrit, Ujjain).	:	On Sanskrit etc.
16. Dr. C. R. Swaminathan	:	Kākagrāhī.

The available verses are printed in this section.

संस्कृतसरणिः

गीर्वाणवाणीमहिला कदाचित् निवासदेशं परिमार्गमाणा ।
चोळाधिपं शाहजराजमाप्य जल्पेशवासे स्थितिमाप सम्यक् ॥ १ ॥

द्वितीयवासो मम नेति खिन्ना मद्रं पुरं प्राप्तवती सुभद्रम् ।
अत्यन्तरक्तं प्रतिभासमेतं वी. कृष्णसाम्याह्वयमवाप पश्चात् ॥ २ ॥

स्थलद्वये सा महिता सुपूज्या, श्रीकुप्पुसाम्याह्वयसुधीन्द्ररक्ष्या ।
सुधीवरान्नैकविधान् प्रसूता महोन्नतैः पण्डितवर्यपौत्रैः ॥ ३ ॥

प्रपौत्रतत्पुत्रपरम्पराभिः विराजमाना जगतीतलेऽस्मिन् ।
शतायुषी, न्यूनवयस्समेता, शताभिषेकं प्रतिपद्यमाना ॥ ४ ॥

न्यायाधिपैः शब्दविवेकवद्भिः, तर्कप्रवीणैः, रसपूर्णहृद्भिः ।
साहित्यशास्त्रे गणिते नदीष्णैः, शिष्यप्रशिष्यैरधुना विभाति ॥ ५ ॥

एम्. ए. शिरोमण्यभिधाः कतीव, प्राध्यापकास्तन्महिलाः कतीव ।
सर्वैः स्तुता सर्वजनप्रमोदम् , जेजीयतां सन्ततमादधाना ॥ ६ ॥

वृक्षस्य शाखे द्विविधे विभातः नरस्य पार्श्वे द्विविधे तथैव ।
तथा हि वाचस्पतिशास्त्रिवर्य एम. ए. शिरोमण्यभि धौ नु हस्तौ ॥ ७ ॥

जयतु जयतु कन्या सूनुशिष्यप्रवर्गः
जयतु जयतु माताऽऽचन्द्रतारं सदा नः ।
जयतु जयतु कृष्णस्वामिवर्यो महान् सः
जयतु जयतु कुप्पुस्वामिराजोऽविता सः ॥ ८ ॥

श्री. के. बालसुब्रह्मण्य शास्त्री.

पद्यप्रसूनाञ्जलिः

कुप्पुस्वामिगुरोर्दिगन्तविलसत्कीर्तिप्रकाशोऽधुना
विद्याक्षेत्रगतानुदारचरितानासेतुडेछि भवान् ।
अद्यास्मिन् प्रचिते सुशोधनरते गीर्वाणवाणीहिते
हृद्ये शोधनमन्दिरे ननु समानीयाधिकं राजते ॥ १ ॥

शिष्यकोटिहृदये सनातना विश्वसूरिवलये सुनूतना ।
पश्यतामपि तथैव शृण्वतां स्फूर्तिदा खलु कथा विपश्चिताम् ॥ २ ॥

यत्र वे, राघवप्रख्यैर्विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिभिः ।
सङ्गीतमपि साहित्यं संस्कृतस्थं परिष्कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥

यत्र शास्त्राण्यशेषाणि निर्मथ्यन्ते महोदयैः ।
सत्यामृताप्तये नित्यं लोकसञ्जीवनार्थिभिः ॥ ४ ॥

विदुषी जानकी यत्र लग्ना शोधनकर्मणि ।
चन्द्रशेखरसंपुष्टा तत्र लोपकथा कुतः ॥ ५ ॥

कलाप्रपूर्णा कपिला प्रशासनविचक्षणा ।
सुप्रसन्नस्तथा स्वामिनाथो विद्याविशारदः ॥ ६ ॥

चित्रवैचित्र्यविच्छित्तिसमाकृष्टजनोत्करः ।
शिवरामश्च यत्रैव योगक्षेमक्रियाकरः ।
तत्र श्रीर्विजयो भूतिर्वर्धन्तेत्यत्र नाद्भुतम् ॥ ७ ॥

अस्माभिरागतैरत्र दिनत्रयमपोहितम् ।
क्षणत्रयमिवानन्दे काव्यालापविनोदनैः ॥ ८ ॥

सत्सङ्गैः सरसालापैः सहभोजनवर्धितैः ।
नाट्यसङ्गीतधाराभिः वेदशास्त्रविवेचनैः ॥ ९ ॥

लालिताः पालिताश्चैव मद्रपुर्यां महाजनैः ।
हृत्पूर्वकं वयं ब्रूमो धन्यवादान् सहस्रशः ॥ १० ॥

जयतु सकलविद्यासारभाण्डार एषः
जयतु भुवि सुविद्या संस्कृता सापि नित्यम् ।
जयतु कविजनानामुत्तमा काव्यवाणी
जनयतु परितोषं मानसे पण्डितानाम् ॥ ११ ॥

परमगुरोर्हिरियण्णात् करुणापूर्णादुदात्तकवितासविता ।
केरलपुरजन्मेदं विरचितवान् कृष्णमूर्तिरुत्कटभक्त्या ॥ १२ ॥

डा. के. कृष्णमूर्तिः

स्मृत्यञ्जलिपञ्चरत्नम्

अनाहूतस्समायातः समारोहेऽत्र शास्त्रिणाम् ।
स्मृत्यञ्जलिं समादाय सप्रश्रयमहं स्तुतिम् ॥ १ ॥

विद्याबोधनबद्धकङ्कमहाशोधप्रबन्धेश्वरम्
प्राप्ताशेषविशेषसत्यबिरुदं पुंभाववाग्देवताम् ।
ध्वन्यालोकविमर्शनापटुमहासाहित्यविद्यानिधिं
वेदान्तेषु विशिष्टतर्कनियतिं विख्यातमूर्तिं भजे ॥ २ ॥

दीपाभावे भवान्वीथ्यां पठित्वा पण्डितोऽभवत् ।
इत्यश्रावि भवद्वृत्तं दीपस्तम्भो भवानथ ॥ ३ ॥

वाचां विचित्रे साहित्ये तर्के चाप्यतिकर्कशे ।
सव्यसाचिर्भवानेव शिष्यवात्सल्यभूषित ॥ ४ ॥

कविः सहृदयश्चैव सदयश्च महागुरुः ।
मनीषी च ऋषिश्चैव कुप्पुस्वामिबुधो बुधः ॥ ५ ॥

श्री. वी. नरसिंहाचार्यः

आचार्यस्तुतिः

महामहोपाध्यायान् विद्यावाचस्पतीन् कुलपतींस्तान् ।
कुप्पुस्वामिसुधीन्द्रान् सार्थितबिरुदान् गुरूत्तमान् वन्दे ॥ १ ॥

विशदीकृतवैदुष्यान् अध्यापनशोधनानुसन्धानैः ।
इदमित्थमित्यभिज्ञान् बुधवर्यामोदितान् वन्दे ॥ २ ॥

विशालं फालं तत्पृथुनयनम् ऊर्ध्वोन्नतमुखम्
पुरः प्रेक्षापीठप्रसृमरनिजव्यायतभुजम ।
सुखासीनं घुंघुंरवमृदुलवागुच्चहसितं
गुरोस्तद्रूपं मे हृदि मिषति सुव्यक्तमधुना ॥ ३ ॥

धृतस्वच्छोष्णीषं निटिलधृतगन्धत्रिसरणिं
स्फुटन्नासालग्न-द्विदलमुकुरोद्भासि नयनम् ।
समुद्यत्प्रत्यग्राशय-नवरसप्रोज्ज्वलमुखं
गुरोस्तद्रूपं मे हृदि मिषति सुव्यक्तमधुना ॥ ४ ॥

पाश्चात्याक्रमणाद्यदा विघटिता विद्यालयात्संस्कृतिः
भाषा सा च चिरन्तनी भरतभूजीवातुरुत्सारिता ।
तस्याः पूर्ववदुत्तमां स्थितिमधात्पाठक्रमे सर्वतः
कुप्पुस्वामिसुधीः समर्हति नुतीः भाविप्रजासन्ततेः ॥ ५ ॥

छात्रान् स दर्शनकलानिधिः "एत पाठे
प्रश्नान् कुरुध्व"मिति चोदयति प्रवक्ति ।
शास्त्रान्तरान्वयमनुक्तमतन्द्रयन् यः
शिष्यान् समुन्नमयति स्म नमोऽस्तु तस्मै ॥ ६ ॥

सत्यं यदुक्तं किल चन्द्रशेखरार्यैर्निजस्वागतभाषणान्ते ।
तपोऽन्वतिष्ठद्गुरुरात्मविद्यां शिष्येषु सङ्क्रामयितुं महद्धि ॥ ७ ॥

तत्त्वावधारणविधौ न हि पक्षपातः निष्कर्ष एव परमावधिरस्य शास्त्रे ।
ये सम्प्रदाय इति भीषयितुं प्रवृत्ताः तानट्टहासविधिना व्यनयद्विदूरम् ॥८॥

दीपात्प्रदीप इव यस्य हि शिष्यवर्गाः
स्वस्था अमोघविभवा विचरन्ति दिक्षु ।
नैकोऽपि मन्द इति वत्सलतानुरूपाः
तस्याशिषः सहफला विनमाम तस्मै ॥ ९ ॥

श्रीस्वामिनाथ आत्रेयः

पद्यकुसुमाञ्जलिः

अस्मिन् जन्मशताब्दे हि कीर्तिशेषस्य सद्गुरोः ।
वर्षदीर्घोत्सवप्रीता देवी वाचां विराजते ॥ १ ॥

आघोषोऽयं शताब्दस्य सोत्साहं यद् बुधैः कृतः ।
नूनं तेन गुरुः प्रीतो दिवि देवर्षिभिस्समः ॥ २ ॥

अज्ञान-तमसो येन शिष्यास्सर्वे समुद्धृताः ।
ज्ञानदीपप्रदानेन तं वन्दे परमं गुरुम् ॥ ३ ॥

विद्यापारंगतो यो विबुधगुरुसमो भासुरज्ञानरूपः
विद्वद्वर्यैः सुपूज्यस्सुमधुरवचनो दीक्षितो ज्ञानयज्ञे ।
छात्राणां संशयौघप्रशमननिपुणस्सर्वदा सुप्रसन्नः
कारुण्याम्भोनिधिं तं गुरुवरमनिशं भावये शान्तमूर्तिम् ॥ ४ ॥

महाविद्याम्बुधिं सम्यग् धिषणामन्दरेण यः ।
प्रमथ्यामृतमादाय शिष्येभ्यः प्रददौ च तत् ॥ ५ ॥

"महामहोपाध्यायं" तं "षट्दर्शनकलानिधिम्" ।
"विद्यावाचस्पतिं" वन्दे गुरूणामुत्तमं गुरुम् ॥ ६ ॥

सभासु विद्वद्भिरलंकृतासु महत्सु तत्त्वेषु विचारितेषु ।
सदस्य-शंकामखिलां रसेन छिनत्ति यस्तं गुरुमाश्रयामि ॥ ७ ॥

स्थापिता गुरुवर्येण पोषिता च गवेषकैः ।
नवविज्ञानसन्दात्री पत्रिका वर्धतां चिरम् ॥ ८ ॥

गवेषकवरैः संस्था ग्रन्थरत्नैश्च मण्डिता ।
गुरोर्नाम्ना च सुज्ञाता वर्धतामुत्तरोत्तरम् ॥ ९ ॥

" आकारसदृशप्रज्ञः प्रज्ञया सदृशागमः ।
आगमैः सदृशारम्भः आरम्भसदृशोदयः " ॥ १० ॥

एतत्कविगुरोर्वाक्यमन्वर्थं हि गुरुं प्रति ।
येनार्षभारतीदेव्याः कीर्तिर्विस्तारिता भुवि ॥ ११ ॥

शिष्यपद्माकरार्काय ज्ञानपीयूषसिन्धवे ।
विद्वत्तारा-सुधाङ्गाय गुरुदेवाय मङ्गलम् ॥ १२ ॥

भारतोर्व्यां कृतावासे श्रितानां दुरितापहे ।
ज्ञानरत्ननिधे तुभ्यं मङ्गलं देवभारति ॥ १३ ॥

मङ्गलं भारताम्बायै श्रुतीनां पुण्यभूमये ।
विश्वशान्तिप्रदायिभ्यो देशिकेभ्यश्च मङ्गलम् ॥ १४ ॥

प्रो. देवकी मेनोन्
(विनीतशिष्या)

पद्याञ्जलिः

यातायातरणत्पदाब्जविगलद्रत्नांशुरम्यां भुवं
कर्तुं रङ्गनटी न चाहममराधीशाश्रया मेनका ।
नाहं चञ्चलकामुको जलधिवन्नाकोपमः किं हरे
यातायातपरं करोषि भगवन् मां दीनमीरापते ॥ १ ॥

लुञ्चितकेशैः खिन्नबलानां शान्तिं को वा दास्यति लोके ।
उद्धृतशिखया पण्डितमानीज्ञानविहीनस्साधुमतः किम् ॥ २ ॥

ब्रह्मचर्यजितमन्मथलोभं भावमुग्धकविवन्दितपादम् ।
भानुकोटिसमकान्तिमकान्तं भावये प्रणवरूपमिभास्यम् ॥ ३ ॥

दैत्यभानुकरभुक्तबलाम्भस्स्वर्गलोकविमुखस्सुरसङ्घः ।
त्वां प्रसाद्य तपनाद्यकुलेऽजं जन्मभाजमकरोदिति चित्रम् ॥ ४ ॥

गाधिपुत्रबहुशंसितवीर्यं त्रुटयदीशधनुरात्तधराजम् ।
भग्नगर्वभृगुवंश्यनुतांघ्रिं त्वत्पिताऽवनधुरंधरमैच्छत् ॥ ५ ॥

कापिलाग्निकबलीकृतवंशे त्वत्पदाब्जजलरक्षितबीजे ।
त्वामवाप्य तनुजं तनुजाशा कालकूटमपिबत्तव तातः ॥ ६ ॥

मातृदिष्टवनवासधुरीणं काञ्चनैणहृतसीतमनाथम् ।
भग्नवीर्यमिव देवगणास्त्वां वीक्ष्य ते ननृतुरीप्सितमूलम् ॥ ७ ॥

स्त्रीवियोगहृतधर्ममतिस्त्वं वानरेन्द्रमपि राक्षसराजम् ।
भ्रातृधर्मविमुखस्सुरतुल्यः भ्रातृशाठ्यहृतजीवमकार्षीः ॥ ८ ॥

ग्राम्यबुद्धिरथ रावणनाशात् त्वां प्रविश्य हलजामवधीत् किम् ।
तादृशाघकलुषीकृतदेहः किं करोषि सरयूमपि कृष्णाम् ॥ ९ ॥

आदिकाव्यगतरामकथायाः चित्रतापबहुवर्धितभावः ।
कल्पयामि तव वेंकटसूनुः पद्यजलररचितामिह मालाम् ॥ १० ॥

गरबद्धगृहपन्नगशिरश्शतकनर्तनमहत्कुतुकतुष्टशिशुकं
    घनकृष्णतनुसुन्दरसुमण्डनसमुद्भवझणझ्झणकशब्दमधुरम् ।
वियन्निलयशक्रमुनियक्षनुतिलक्ष्यमतिलक्षणकदम्बमनघं
    जगत्त्रयजनिस्थितिलयक्रमसुविक्रममुरुक्रमविभुं हृदि भज ॥ ११ ॥

अट्टहसितत्रुटितविप्रसदनं दिगिभचित्तभयवह्निपवनं
    शिष्टजनरक्षणधुरन्धरमसिंहममुग्रबलपुष्टमनरम् ।
दुष्टदितिपुत्रपशुमर्दनसुलब्धपदशक्रनुतमुग्रवदनं
    जगत्त्रयजनिस्थितिलयक्रमसुविक्रममुरुक्रमविभुं हृदि भज ॥ १२ ॥

समस्यापूर्तिः

वचननिलयमात्वा वल्लभां वाग्विदूरां
कमलनिलयदेवीं पूजयन् दीर्घकालम् ।
महिषकटुनिपातप्राप्तरोषाकृतिं त्वां
न हि खलु परिभोक्तुं नैव शक्नोमि हातुम् ॥ १ ॥

स्मितमिति यत्तत् स्यात् [1]नल्लिचेलादिमूलं
गतिरिति या सा स्यात् [2]तिल्लुमुल्वीक्षणाक्ता ।
पितृगृहगमिता चेत् भोज्यनाशः प्रिये त्वां
न हि खलु परिभोक्तुं नैव शक्नोमि हातुम् ॥ २ ॥

श्री. टि. वि. अनन्तरामशेषः

रागस्तुतिः

रागो रञ्जनकृन्मुदा विजयते रागं हि याचे सदा
रागेणैव वशीकृता वसुमती रागाय तस्मै नमः ।
रागान्नास्ति सुगायनं परतरं रागस्य सेवी त्वहं
रागे चित्तलयः सदा भवतु मे भो राग, मां रञ्जय ॥ १ ॥

जगन्नाथपुर्यां रथयात्रादर्शनम्

यत्रैवासीद्धरिहरिरवः खोलतालैः समृद्धो
यत्रैवासीन्नटननिरतः कृष्णचैतन्यदेवः ।
तत्रैवाद्य स्वनति नितरां वृद्धभक्तैकवृन्दं
कर्णस्फोटे प्रभवतितरां हन्त यन्त्रोत्थरावः ॥ १ ॥

क्वासि त्वं भो सरलसुभगे संस्कृते भारतीये
पृच्छामि त्वां विचलितमना मातरं मामकीनाम् ।
तीव्रात्तीव्रे प्रबलभरिते पीवरे वा नवीने
मन्दान्मन्दे तरलविरले क्षीणके वा पुराणे ॥ २ ॥

डा० प्रेमलता शर्मा

१ नल्ल्याख्यापणस्था शाटिका
२ तिल्लु - मुल्लाख्यं द्रविड-चलच्चित्रम् (सिनेमाविशेषः)

रजतोडुपः

शान्तिसौभाग्यसम्पूर्णे सरस्याकाशनामके ।
लक्ष्म्या रजतपोतोऽयं भाति चन्द्रकलाच्छलात् ॥ १ ॥

तदासक्तैस्तत्र तत्र प्लवमानैः सिताम्बुदैः ।
पोतस्य स्पर्शनमपि नालभ्यमितविक्रमैः ॥ २ ॥

एकोत्प्लुत्या भाग्यशाली तमासाद्याभवं क्षणात् ।
लक्ष्मी स्वयंकृताश्लेषपरमानन्दभाजनम् ॥ ३ ॥

उडुपेऽस्मिन् चराम्येव चञ्चलः प्रियया सह ।
परस्परानुरागोत्थरम्यचापल्यमन्थरम् ॥ ४ ॥

कृत्याकृत्यविवेकेऽत्र कथं चिन्ता भविष्यति ।
नित्याह्लादनमाधुर्यमाद्यच्चित्तस्य मेऽधुना ॥ ५ ॥

श्रान्तस्वान्तः श्रये किन्तु शान्तिदां सुखदायिकाम् ।
मम जीवितसर्वस्वमृणालमृदुलां तनुम् ॥ ६ ॥

यदि मत्प्रेयसी किंचिद् दृढाश्लेषं न मुञ्चति ।
नाविकः स्मयतां पोतचालने दत्तमानसः ॥ ७ ॥

दीर्घयात्रा

दुःखैर्धूमिलदर्पणबिम्बित-परमानन्दो मामकजीवः ।
पौरुषनियती दीर्घभुजौ मे तावान्दोल्य सुखेन चरामि ॥ १ ॥

उषसः काञ्चन चषकाद् गलितां मदिरां मार्गे साधु पिबामि ।
सुन्दरतारापुञ्जैः सार्कं क्षणदावासे निद्रां यामि ॥ २ ॥

उत्थाय दृशावुन्मील्य पुनः प्रस्थातुमनाः पथि विचरामि ।
विस्मृतिरासीन्नैव हि वोढुं विस्मृतिभाण्डं केवलमेकम् ॥ ३ ॥

किं वा लक्ष्यं यात्रायाः ? किं प्रतिस्थानं ? को जानाति ?

डा. के. के. राजा

स्मृत्यञ्जलिः

वन्दे तां प्रतिमां दिव्यां शास्त्रकाव्यार्थसारिणीम् ।
यत्प्रभावात्स्वामिमुख्याः सर्वविद्याविचक्षणाः ॥ १ ॥

शिष्यप्रशिष्यसङ्क्रान्तविद्यासंस्कारशोभिताः ।
विश्वविद्याविकासाख्ययज्ञसम्भारसम्भृताः ॥ २ ॥

कविकोकिलवैशाखीं सम्प्राप्येमां सभां शुभाम् ।
कूजितं क्रियते किंचित् विवशेन मयाऽधुना ॥ ३ ॥

संस्कृतं क्रियते गानं बुधचित्तविनोदनम् ।
अनुगृह्णन्तु मां सभ्याः गुणग्रहणतत्पराः ॥ ४ ॥

डा. पी. श्रीराममूर्तिः

वाग्देवीवरिवस्या

कुप्पुस्वामिमहार्हाणां स्मारणार्थाय तेनिरे ।
तदन्तेवासिनः केचिद् सुरवाणीमहोत्सवम् ॥ १ ॥

नानादिशाप्रथितसर्वकलाप्रपाठ-
संस्थासु पाठनविधौ कुशलाः प्रकाण्डाः ।
येऽध्यापका विबुधवाग्विदुषां वरेण्याः
आहूय तान् व्यरचयन् वचसामुपासाम् ॥ २ ॥

वाग्देव्यास्समुपासनाय कुसुमान्यानीय तैरार्चयन्
येषां कानिचिदर्थभावरसता सौगन्ध्यवन्ति क्वचित् ।
येषां कान्यपि शास्त्रवादलसितान्यात्मानुभूतिं विना
वर्णैकप्रथितान्यसौरभसुखान्येवं विचित्रैः सुमैः ॥ ३ ॥

भावस्यानुभवात् क्वचिद्रसतया सङ्घट्टितार्थोद्भवात्
प्रामाण्यप्रवणोक्तशुष्कवचसां प्रागल्भ्यतः कुत्रचित् ।
स्थाने तत्र सभासदां रसविदां पूजा प्रसादात्मकं
श्रोत्राणां मनसां सुखं समभवच्चान्तर्गतस्यात्मनः ॥ ४ ॥

श्री. ए. वि. सुब्रह्मण्यः

काकग्राही

धनिकमुच्चाधिकारिणं वा प्रशंसन्तस्तेषां प्रीत्युत्पादनेन स्वाभीष्टं निर्वाहयन्तः 'काकग्राहिण' (crow-catchers) इति द्रविडदेशे उपहासरूपेण निर्दिश्यन्ते । तादृशं काकग्राहिणमभिकृत्य लिखितोऽयं पद्यगुच्छः ।

अधिकृतमनुगच्छन् दर्शयन् दन्तपङ्क्तिं
तदुदितमनुमोदन् वास्तवं वाप्यसत्यम् ।
प्रथितकुटिलकर्मा वायसग्राहकाख्यो
भुवनविदितभूमा कस्य न ज्ञातपूर्वः ॥ १ ॥

न हि स वहति जालं व्याधजन्मानुरूपं
न धनुरपि न चेषून् नापि तूणीरपाशौ ।
अटति न च वनान्ते किन्तु तत्तुल्यकाक-
ग्रहणविषयदक्षो नैव जातो निषादः ॥ २ ॥

निजहितमनुपश्यन् क्रीतचित्तोऽस्तचिन्तो-
ऽप्यभिमतवचनौघैः स्वामिसन्तोषमृच्छन् ।
तदनभिमतवार्त्तां कण्ठलग्नां नियच्छन्
चरति भुवि निकामं वायसग्राहकोऽसौ ॥ ३ ॥

दिवि विलसति मध्ये सप्तसप्तौ दिनार्धे
वदति यदि धनाढ्यो यामशेषा निशेति ।
समयगणितशास्त्रे नैपुणी तेऽप्रतर्क्ये-
त्यतिशयमुखरं तं स्तौति मोहान्धदृष्टिम् ॥ ४ ॥

खलमपि धनवन्तं धर्मपुत्रीकरोति
प्रकटितनिजमौर्ख्यं गीष्पतित्वं व्यनक्ति ।
कृपणजनधुरीणं स्तौति कर्णेन तुल्यं
कविवचनसमानालङ्कृतिप्रोतवाचा ॥ ५ ॥

परभृत इव काकग्राहकोऽप्यन्यपुष्ट-
स्त्वपरभृतकवर्गाद्भेदयन् स्वामिनं स्वम् ।
प्रकटितनिजभक्तिर्गूहितस्वार्थसक्तिः
कलमधुरवचोभिः कस्य तुष्ट्यै न वा स्यात् ॥ ६ ॥

धनिकहृदयगर्वं वर्द्धयत्यन्वहं त-
द्वितरितधनलेशैः पूरयत्यात्मकुक्षिम् ।
श्रमजलमनिषिञ्चन् क्लेशलेशं विनाऽसौ
पणितनिजनरत्वो जीवति ह्यस्तलज्जः ॥ ७ ॥

विलम्बी द्वारेषु प्रभुगृहगतश्चर्मचटकः
सदा तस्योपान्ते मशक इव कर्णे जपपरः ।
परौन्नत्यापातौ किरति वचसा पल्लिवदसा-
वपूर्वोऽयं सर्पो रिपुकुलमदष्टं विधमति ॥ ८ ॥

जयति जगति काकग्राहको निःसमानः
परशतविनिपातादात्मसौख्यं प्रपुष्यन् ।
विरलसुजनलोके स्वीयवाचां विलासै-
स्सृजति खलु बहून् यस्सज्जनान् धर्मगुप्त्यै ॥ ९ ॥

श्री. सी. आर्. स्वामिनाथः

CULTURAL PROGRAMME

In tune with the excellence of the Seminars and the Kavi Sammelanam and as worthy of the occasion, at the close of the day on all the three days there were cultural programmes.

19-6-81. SAMSKṚTA SANGĪTA SAMPRADĀYA

In this programme a range of Sanskrit songs, ancient and modern, was rendered by a team of research scholars and post-graduate students of the Music department in the University of Madras under the direction of Dr. Sita and Dr. N. Ramanathan. The participants were :—Kum. M. Prameela, Kum. B. Lochana, Kum. B. Ratnamma, Smt. V. Bhagyalakshmi, Kum. K. R. Kalpagam, Kum. P. Padmavathi, Smt. Prema Sukumar Kum. K. Sarasvati, Kum. N. Bhagyalakshmi and Srirangarajapuram Sri Jayaraman

This was a pioneering effort in the reconstuction of various songs and singing traditions as recorded in ancient texts like the Nāṭya Śāstra of Bharata and Sangīta Ratnākara along with valuable commentaries.

While this was in keeping with the research approach, the essential aspect of the K. S. R. I., the modern element which is also an integral part of it was provided by the exquisite Sanskrit songs' recital by Sangīta Kalānidhi Semmangudi Srinivasa Iyer accompanied by Śrī M. S. Gopalakrishnan on the violin and Umayalpuram Śrī Sivaraman on the mridangam. The performances brought out the grace and importance of Sanskrit in the long history of music.

On 20-6-81 there was a grand and graceful Bharata nāṭya performance by Smt. Nandini Srikanth, with naṭṭuvāṅgam led by Smt. Lalitha Sastri based on select Sanskrit songs and verses.

The culminating and climactic cultural presentation was of a few scenes from Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi, a unique drama of Śaktibhadra. This drama in particular was first brought to light and critically assessed and appreciated by Śrī Kuppuswami Sastriar. Although the Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi is known as important in the Kerala Sanskrit dramatic tradition of Kūḍiyāṭṭam, it has never been actually staged in Madras or elsewhere. It was, therefore, appropriate that this play was presented for the first time on the Birth-Centenary of Prof. Sastriar and that too by the Saṁskṛta Raṅga, whose objective is to put on boards dramas in manuscripts or those not hitherto presented. The cast consisted of Mrs. Nirmala Natarajan, Mrs. Kausalya Sivakumar, Mrs. Meena Satish Babu, Mrs. Nandini Ramani, Mrs. Shanta Raghunathan, Miss. K. Usha and Mrs. Rajalakshmi Santhanam who played the roles of the characters with appreciable histrionic skill and emotional involvement. Smt. R. Vedavalli's enchanting music supported by Smt. R. Ramani's veena and Śrī Umayalpuram Mali's mṛdaṅgam completed the grandeur of the show. The drama was directed by Dr. S. S. Janaki with a meticulous eye on every aspect and detail of the presentation.

It may be mentioned, with reasonable satisfaction if not pride, that both the audience and the press reacted to the seminars and the cultural pageants with spontaneous and warm appreciation.

CONCLUDING SESSION : 31st OCTOBER—1st NOVEMBER 1981

A second session of the celebration was held at this time, almost the close of the year to provide an opportunity to a good number of foreign scholars visiting this country in connection with V World Sanskrit conference at Varanasi.

On 31st October, the function started with auspicious traditional 'Nagasvara vadyam' played by Prof. W. Skelton of Colgate University, New York, Sri M. K. S. Siva and Sri M. K. S. Natarajan and Party. This was followed by recitation from the four Vedas, that marked the sanctity of the occasion. Kumari Nagalakshmi sang Samskṛt verses in praise of Sastriar.

WELCOME :

Sri K. Chandrasekharan welcoming the gathering said that the Institute had been recommended for development as a research Institute combining traditional scholarship and modern research The Central Government had sanctioned a grant for acquiring the late Dr. V. Raghavan's collection of printed books which would be housed in 'Rāghavamandiram', the first floor of Institute building.

INAUGURATION :

Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi, inaugurating the session recalled how Sastriar had not merely shown keenness in the students' progress in learning, but was particularly ecstatic when his students spoke in Sanskrit. He referred to the poems and Sastriar's works that had inspired him.

CHAIRMAN'S SPEECH :

Most appropriately, the Chair on this occasion was taken by Prof. J. Filliozat (Honorary Professor, College de France, Paris), a well known Indologist and Sanskritist, who was long associated with Indian studies at Pondichery, an admirer of Kuppuswami Sastriar and a close friend of Prof. V. Raghavan.

DELIVERING HIS SPEECH DR. FILLIOZAT SAID :

"I feel much honoured to have been requested by Dr. Janaki to deliver a Valedictory address in memory of such a great scholar as Mm. Kuppuswami Sastrigal, in the Institute for Indian researches founded in his name with such a success continuing permanently so long after him.

Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri has been both a research scholar and a teacher in the first rank in both capacities. As far as his career is concerned, it is well known that he was the Principal of the Madras Sanskrit College in 1906 when he was 26, so great was already his competence and achievement in Sanskrit. Next year he was the chairman of the Board of Examiners in Sanskrit, Madras University. Then he became Principal of the Rajah's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies, Tiruvaiyaru. It was from

1910-14 and it was really a very convenient position for him who was, an *ubhayakavi*, like, in the days of the Pallavas, the famous Daṇḍin who is credited of both *Kāvyādarśa* for Sanskrit *alaṁkāraśāstra*, and *Taṇṭiyalaṅkāram*, for Tamil *aṇi*.

That was important because Sanskrit and Tamil must not be opposed as both worked side by side for the general culture of India. They had many mutual exchanges all along the centuries. Sanskrit, as universally expanded and taught everywhere in the Indian subcontinent and abroad, was a general link language in South Asia. Tamil, also regularly taught in South India, was and has remained for ever a highly literary, cultural and scientific language. Tamilians were often *ubhayakavis*, using and propagating Sanskrit for general relations but cultivating with delight and pride their sweet mother-tongue.

Tiruvaiyaru, called in Sanskrit *Pañcāpagā* (the land of five Rivers) was the famous *kṣetra* of Pañcāpageśa, Śiva as Lord in this place, like everywhere in the world and beyond the world. From this *puṇyakṣetra* he was appointed, from 1914 till 1936 as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the Presidency College, Madras and Curator of the Government Oriental Mss. Library at Madras.

In the meantime he played in the course of years always a prominent role in all works and conferences dealing with Sanskrit and Philosophy of India. That is why he was honoured in 1926 by the Bharata Dharma Mahāmandal, Varanasi as Vidyāvācaspati and made the First President of the Madras Sanskrit Academy; in 1927 by the Government with the title of the Mahāmahopādhyāya; in 1932 by H. H. Śrī Śaṅkarācārya of Kāmakoṭipīṭha with the title of *Darśanakalānidhi* (or and by H. H. Śaṅkarācārya of Govardhana maṭh with the title of *kulapati*, a compound word which is often used as an equivalent of Chancellor, but there *kula* refers to more than any university and, it evokes all the traditional Indian Culture.

The work of Śāstriar has been described by Professor V. Raghavan in the Introduction to the Birth-Centenary Commemoration Volume edited by Dr. S. S. Janaki and containing writings of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri himself.

This Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute established by his pupils, admirers and friends is a living continuation of his work in favour of Sanskrit and Sanskrit teaching.

I remember of a meeting held in 1955 or 1956 in this Institute to study the way of developing the knowledge of Sanskrit, and I am sure it was in the line of his thought and main preoccupation. Perhaps, to honour today his memory, it would not be inconvenient to present some remarks on the necessity of Sanskrit knowledge and on the present situation of Sanskrit teaching and hopes to increase the development of this teaching throughout the world.

Sanskrit knowledge is absolutely indispensable for a proper understanding of the spirit of Indian people, and the Indian people form a major part of the mankind. Thus, there are no general human sciences without including a deep enquiry in the specific genius of India. And the key of her cultural history is Sanskrit. Even if Sanskrit is ignored by the majority of Indian citizens, it is the actual basis of their spiritual and psychological condition. All the languages of India are derived from Sanskrit or intermixed with Sanskrit data. The modern Indo-Aryan languages are not derived directly from old Sanskrit. They are derived from prākrits and apabhraṁśas which are descendants from old Sanskrit. But pure classical Sanskrit has been largely reintroduced in their vocabulary in later times.

An intermediate situation took place when the various prākrits already in the process of diversification in the centuries around Christian and Śaka eras, became inconvenient for general communications from one region to another. At that time Sanskrit, taught in schools, being classical Sanskrit, began to be partly introduced both in inscriptions and texts written for the sake of the general population and not only for literary men. Hence the Buddhist hybrid Sanskrit literature was so aptly studied by Prof. Franklin Edgerton.

Prof. Edgerton surmised that classical Sanskrit was introduced in Buddhist scriptures for the sake of prestige. But, if it was so, the attempt could not be successful, because barbarous Sanskrit could not be appreciated by Sanskrit scholars, and it would have been easy to turn the Buddhist scriptures into correct classical language. Actually, it has been done soon in later works. Also, prākrits and hybrid Sanskrit have not been exported to South-East Asia when the development of trade beyond the sea carried Indian culture into those countries. Only classical Sanskrit was introduced there.

It was introduced and regularly taught with a great success. We know from the Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing, in the 7th century, travellers going to India were staying for months on the way, in Sumatra where they got some facilities in learning Sanskrit. Sanskrit was very useful for them at the time of landing and travelling in India, and while facing various unknown languages they were able to manage with Sanskrit, which was not known by everybody but at least by some people everywhere. The situation was in those days the same with Sanskrit as with English today, but Sanskrit was also the key of the main general Indian literature. The benefit of its knowledge was double.

As far as Dravidian languages were concerned the relations with Sanskrit were very close on both practical and literary sides. After the period of introduction of Jain Ardhamāgadhi words in old Tamil, Sanskrit words were adopted just like in Indo-Aryan vernaculars in the same periods.

But also Tamil grammarians studied Prātiśākhyas and Sanskrit *Vyākaraṇa*. They were not imitating them and they composed original grammars well adapted to their language which was structurally different from Sanskrit. Only in some circles, in later times, attempts have been done in Tamil to arrange the rules of the language on the pattern of Sanskrit grammar, for example in *Vīracoḷiyam*. In any way the main classical tradition in Tamil remained original and is still living. Its case is quite different from that of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars, as those vernaculars have no classical tradition of grammatical teaching. In this respect Tamil grammar is on par with Sanskrit grammar and with the grammar of literary Prākrits. But Sanskrit grammar with the works of Pāṇini and Patañjali, and with the Kāśikāvṛtti was exported to Cambodia. Tamil grammar or Prākrit grammars were not. Sanskrit alone was available as a link language.

That is why Tamilians meeting South-East Asian peoples from any region of India used Sanskrit in their oldest inscriptions and propagated Sanskrit much more than Tamil in the languages of South-East Asia. Also when propagating their own religions in Cambodia, Campa, or Indonesia they naturally used Sanskrit, and they followed the language of the Āgamas in their countries for rituals.

Sanskrit in South-East was propagated at two levels. Firstly, it was completely assimilated in its most elaborated form. Secondly, it was used for practical purposes and that is why it gave birth to a kāvya literature in Java and other Indonesian islands and also introduced a great number of words in languages of Cambodia, Thailand, Burma, Laos, Campa, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Kalimantan, Sulamesi etc. That began in the same period in which Sanskrit also began to be reintroduced in vernacular Indo-Aryan languages and Dravidian ones. Pali was introduced in Western Indo-Chinese Peninsula later than Sanskrit.

Towards continental Asia, after the propagation of Prākrit in the kingdom of Kroraina at Niya, Sanskrit was introduced everywhere but not popularly used. Sanskrit texts were literally translated into regional languages, as it is well known chiefly in Tibet. There the *vyākaraṇa* was translated into Tibetan. Like for Tamil, the classical Tibetan grammar was composed in an original way by Thoumi Sambhota, and not an imitation of Sanskrit.

All these mean that Sanskrit was taught very carefully and according to its own classical grammar wherever it was desired. If now we turn to its teaching in western countries we observe that in the first period in which it was studied by Europeans its study was done in the texts of its classical *vyākaraṇa*. The first Sanskrit grammar which was used fruitfully in Europe was written in Latin in the beginning of the 18th century by a French missionary, Pons. It is kept in the National Library, Paris and follows Bopadeva.

In the first half of 19th century European scholars in Europe used also the *Vyākaraṇa* texts and were directly conducted to make a proper use of commentaries

and even Sanskrit works composed by authors who have always been trained in classical *Vyākaraṇa* and *Nyāya* or *Nyāyavaiśeṣika*, as well as in *Sāhitya*, *Sāmkhya*, and *Vedānta*. They had direct access to the highest Indian culture.

A new way of learning Sanskrit began also in the first part of the 19th century, thanks to the establishment by Franz Bopp of the Comparative Indo-European grammar. Bopp was still fully conversant with the culture of the pandits, but he was at the origin of a movement directing the linguists toward the elucidation of the prehistory of the classical languages of Europe in comparison with Sanskrit. This movement served much to the understanding of Sanskrit itself but diverted many Sanskritists from the Sanskrit culture. They used Sanskrit as tool for digging a forgotten prehistoric past rather as the expression of the Indian thought throughout the history.

Sanskrit in linguistics first served the analysis of Greek and Latin languages. Later, to its own genuine analysis was gradually substituted a new one based on comparative grammar. At the time when I studied Sanskrit in Paris, the students were still compelled to follow classes on *Laghukaumudī*, as well as on *Tarkasaṁgraha* and other subjects of traditional pandit teaching. That was a necessary step to enter in the very culture of the Indian Sanskrit authors and works like those of Pāṇini, Patañjali, *Kāśikā-vṛtti*, *Durghaṭavṛtti* as well as Candragomin, *Kātantra* and in Pāli *Kaccāyana* and *Saddaniti*, have always been cultivated chiefly in Germany, France and Sweden at the highest level of learning by scholars like Bohtlingk, Senart, Liebich, Paul Thieme, Louis Renou, Yetaka Ojihara, Helmer Smith and many others. But the study in Sanskrit through the *Vyākaraṇa* became a speciality in the field of Indology instead to remain the common and necessary basis of the knowledge of Sanskrit literature.

Thus many students in Indology are now satisfied enough with a second hand approach of this literature. They are often initiated to select anthropological, social and economic subjects through English in order to get diplomas or degrees quickly and thus ignoring the original Sanskrit and Sanskrit tradition, they miss the heart of Indian people.

The trend towards the modern enquiries of physicists, biologists and towards the new technology also leads many research scholars to forget the psychology of the men engaged in the inherited tradition of a great and fundamental culture like Sanskrit which has been diffused into strong derivatives.

But, in our days the revival of study of *Vyākaraṇa* is fortunately evident in the circles of modern linguists. There is also an auspicious sign that America has now started to cultivate Sanskrit philology which is a developing trend. I am sure Kuppuswami Sastrigal would be very happy to witness this revival and new undertaking, if he was still among us. But he would also be worried by the relative neglect of the traditional formation of pandits in India. Without the pandits Sanskrit literature will turn to be a dead one, like old Greek and Latin, once very prestigious, but no more present in the life of the mankind and reduced to a store of obsolete thoughts and wordings.

That is why we must praise the efforts of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute to keep alive the Sanskrit teaching, not only in the sacred memory of Sastrigal but also for the future of the learning to which he himself was devoted. And it is the duty of all Sanskritists throughout the world to try to help the general development of Sanskrit teaching tuned not only to theoretical linguistics but also to the proper knowledge of one of the best achievements of the humanity.

The Birth-Centenary Commemoration publications were then presented to the distinguished participants in the function.

OPENING OF DR. V. RAGHAVAN LIBRARY :

Dr. Sivaramamurthi declared open the library containing the large collection of books of the late Dr. V. Raghavan, one of the most illustrious and prodigious students of Sastriar. The books are now preserved in the first floor of the Institute that has been named 'Rāghavamandiram'.

Dr. K. Kunjunni Raja, Retd. Professor of Sanskrit, Madras University, proposed a vote of thanks. The function on the first day concluded with maṅgalam by Kumari Nagalakshmi.

SEMINARS :

The second and concluding day (1 Nov. 1981) of the final session was entirely devoted to academic discussions in a seminar, divided into two sections.

I. RELIGION, PHILOSOPHY, SOCIAL SCIENCES ETC.

Dr. J. Filliozat, France	: Āgamas in South-East Asia
Miss. P. Y. Mumme, U. S. A.	: *Jīvakartṛtva* in Viśiṣṭa-advaita and the Dispute over *Prapatti* in Vedānta Deśika and Manavāla Māmuni.
Dr. Glenn Yocum, U.S.A.	: Periya Purāṇam
Dr. Vasundhara Filliozat	: Balakrishna from Hampi
Dr. Susan Oleksiw, U.S.A.	: F. W. Ellis (Ed. of Sarasvatī Vilāsa)
Dr. J. D. M. Derrett, U. K.	: Sumptuary Laws for Buddhist novices
Dr. J. Naudou, France	: Time in Kālacakra Tantra and Kashmir Śaivism.
Mr. Hiroshi Yamashita, Japan	: Bodhisattva-sila-samvara of the Yogācārabhūmi.
Dr. R. Nagaswami, Madras	: A sculptural representation of Kāmakalā.
Dr. Emelie A. Olson, U S.A.	: Domestic factors in Religious practice and Belief.
Mr. Ramachandran, Tranquebar	: Ambā-Pāḍal.

II. SANSKRIT LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, FINE ARTS

Dr. P. Filliozat, Pondicherry	:	Pāṇini's conception of Grammatical Number and *Ekaśeṣa*
Dr. J. L. Brockington, U. K.	:	Mountains and Suns (Mystical illumination in the Epic)
Dr. P. Venugopala Rao	:	Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata
Dr. F. Baldissera and Dr. S. S. Janaki	:	Epic Echoes in Bhāṇas
Mr. Henry S. Heifetz, U.S.A.	:	On translating Sanskrit poetry
Mr. K. Kamimura, Japan	:	A classfiied Index of Rasas, Bhāvas etc. and in Inter-relationship in the 6th and 7th adhyāyas of Nāṭya Śāstra.
Mr. K. N. Jefferds, U.S.A.	:	Dramatic Irony and the knowing Audience of Sanskrit Drama.
Dr. R. Gottlieb, U.S.A.	:	Sanskrit Literary tradition in Muthuswami Dīkṣitar's Caturdaśa-Rāga-Mālikā
Mr. Jonathan Katz, U. K.	:	Kālidāsa and the Harmonióus Peacocks—A tonic Note.
Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi, N. Delhi	:	Ancient texts preserved in the Śārṅgadhara-paddhati illumined by pictorial commentary
Dr. V. K. Chari, Canada	:	The Motive for Metaphor (*Prayojanāṁśa*).

Both these seminars were not merely well attended but were very informative as the scholars who participated in them were deeply interested in the subject. It was quite a lively experience.

The cultural programme of the concluding session provided a delightful finale to the celebrations.

ENACTION OF PLAYLETS :

The first of November 1981 saw the acme of histrionic and artistic excellence. The renowned Samskrita Ranga that has been holding aloft the banner of Samskrit dramatic staging in Madras for nearly three decades expressed its appreciation for and gratitutde to Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastriar in tangible terms when it presented, under the able, discerning and artistic guidance of Dr. S. S. Janaki, two interesting pieces-one ancient and one modern-an edited version of the Padmaprābhṛtaka Bhāṇa of Śūdraka of old and Karṇabhūṣaṇa, a modern playlet with an ancient theme, by Dr. C. R. Swaminathan, a scholar of artistic perception and expression. The bhāṇa contributed to lightness, humour and releaxation and naturally the Karṇabhūṣaṇa, extolling the glory of charity of the highest order inculcated the higher values. It was a delightful combination, almost the best of both the worlds as it were and a fitting homage to Sastriar

who, while he was seriously well versed in and devoted to the darśanas/the śāstras, was no less interested in literary and artistic appreciation.

Srimati Malini sang the Nāndī verses and Dr. K. Ganesan, Head of the Economics department of the Vivekananda college played the role of the Viṭa Śaśa—the only character to appear on the stage in the Padma-prābhṛtaka.

In the Karṇabhūṣaṇa, Dr. A. Thiruvengadathan, Prof. of Skt. D. G. Vaishnava College played the role of Karṇa and Sri T. R. H. Sundaram, (Telephones, Madras), played the dual role of a brahmin and the sun. The performance of the two playlets and their direction by Dr. S. S. Janaki drew spontaneous admiration and encomium from the audience as well as the press.

FLUTE CONCERT :

The flute recital by Mr. Ludwig Pesch well trained both in Western Music and Karnatic instrumental (flute) under able masters formed the traditional *maṅgalam* bringing the celebration to a happy close on an auspicious note. Mr. Pesch was accompanied by Chittoor Sri Gopalakrishnan on the violin and Sri K.P. Anilkumar on the Mridangam. The classical performance covered an elaborate range of rāgas and compositions.

To lovers of Sanskrit and to those interested in Sanskrit Culture in its multi-faceted brilliance, the yearlong celebrations thus ending on a sweet note brought true delight and renewed enthusiasm; and in those associated with the late Mahāmahopādhyāya the celebrations kindled nostalgic memories that would linger for a long time to come.



Inaugural Address by Dr. (Mrs.) Kapila Vatsyayan on 19-6-81.
Also seen are Sri S. T. D. Varadacharya, Prof. R. N. Dandekar,
Dr. (Mrs.) Eliki Zannas



Hon. Minister Sri R. Venkataraman speaking on 21-6-81. Also in the picture are Prof. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Dr. C. Sivaramamurthy, and Sri R. Thirumalai



Kavi Sammelanam under the Chairmanship of Dr. C. R. Swaminathan on 21st June



Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi speaking at a seminar on 'Indian Arts and Culture' presided over by Dr. Kapila Vatsyayan



Cultural programme—Saṁskṛta - Saṅgīta - Sampradāya presented on 19th June by the Music Department, Madras University.



Music concert by Sangita Kalanidhi Semmangudi Sri Srinivasa Iyer and Party on 19th June



A Scene from Śaktibhadra's Āscharyachūḍāmaṇi presented on 21st June 81 by the Samskrita Ranga



Nagaswaram by Prof. W. Skelton, M. K. S. Siva and Party on 31st Oct. 81.



Welcome by Sri. K. Chandrasekharan. on 31st Oct. Also seen in the picture are Prof. J. Filliozat, Chairman of the session and Dr. C. Sivaramamurthi



Prof. J. Filliozat inaugurating the Seminar on 1 Nov. 81



Seminar session on 1st Nov. 81. Prof. J. Filliozat and Dr. S.S. Janaki are seated; Dr. F. Baldissera presents her paper.



Flute recital by Mr. Ludwig Pesch and Party

Some Aspects of Vedic Exegesis*

Prof. R. N. DANDEKAR
University of Poona

H. T. Colebrooke is said to have inaugurated what may be called the modern period of Vedic philology through his essay, "On the Vedas, or Sacred Writings of the Hindus", published in 1805.[1] In that essay, Colebrooke has, among other things, made the following points : (a) The Vedas are far too extensive to be translated in entirety ; (b) the ancient dialect in which they are written is exceedingly difficult and obscure ; and (c) the contents of the Vedas are such as would render their translation hardly rewarding either to the reader or to the translator. Fortunately for us, these observations of Colebrooke did not act as a caveat against further Vedic study and research. On the contrary, some years later, that is, in 1846, Rudolf Roth asserted — and his assertion has proved prophetic—that the Veda offered a very rich and fertile field for research.[2] Only, one must not fanatically hang on to the dictum 'Alles oder Nichts', nor should one be carried away by either optimistic faith or sceptical rejection. At the same time, one should not, in principle, be opposed to speculation and the use of bold hypotheses, without which, indeed no significant progress in research would be possible.

It had no doubt been realised, even at an early stage, that the *Ṛgveda* (*ṚV*) was truly a "book bound with seven seals". But the scholarly efforts towards its proper understanding by no means waned on that account, and various approaches to its study were proposed and tried. Definitive solutions to the different questions involved in that study cannot, of course, be reasonably claimed to have been found, but one at least became acutely aware of many of those questions.

Let me recount a few miscellaneous questions which have engaged the attention of scholars in recent times, together with the proposed solutions if any, so that you may have some idea of the present trends in Vedic philology. One such question, for instance, relates to the hypothetical Indo-European mother language. As against the usual view of comparative linguistics, it is averred by some scholars that the assumption of a single unitary Ur-IE is by no means scientifically correct or even necessary,[3] or that the IE languages may owe their common (or, more properly, their systematically correlated) traits to later contact just as well as to common

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* Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri Birth Centeuary Commemoration Address delivered on 19th June 1981.

[1] *As. Res.* 8, 369-476.

[2] *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des Weda*, Stuttgart, 1846.

[3] W. S. Allen, " Relationship in comparative linguistics ", *TPS* 1953, 52-108.

descent,[4] or that IE is a *Sprachbund* formed out of languages which did not originally belong together,[5] or that the reconstructed IE represents to a large extent a kind of Ur-Sanskrit which was the language of a ruling social layer made up of the cavaliers of the South-Russian Steppes and the priests of Caucasian origin.[6] But the view which still stubbornly endures seems to be that the IE languages have too many similarities to be explained by anything other than a common genetic origin. The so-called established 'laws' in IE linguistics have, however, now been called in question and new 'laws' are proposed. The famous Grassmann's Law, for instance, is characterised as 'unsafe at any speed', Brugmann's Law is declared to be false, and Sievers' Law is sought to be modified by Edgerton's 'Converse to that Law'. Then there is the problem regarding the Anatolian languages of the second millennium B.C. If, as is now generally agreed, the language presupposed by the linguistic remains in Anatolia is nearest to the Vedic Sanskrit and the gods of the Mitanni treaties are Vedic, how can this superimposition of the Vedic Aryan element on Mitanni be historically explained?[7]

As for the Vedic accent, it is claimed to be phonetically free though it has certain tendencies determined by morphological and grammatical features. The Vedic language may be said to have preserved IE accent only in relics.[8] The main principle governing the Vedic metre is shown to be isosyllabism, not a systematic alternation of short and long, or of stressed and weak, syllables.[9] The Ṛgvedic versification generally tolerates different patterns within a single flexible metre. It has also been pointed out that in the Veda (prose as well as *mantras*) there is ample evidence of a marked predilection, first for uncomplicated sentences of a comparatively simple structure, and secondly, for the repetition of the same schemes even, and often preferably, in immediate succession.[10] Further, one result of the influence of the spoken language on the literary idiom of the *Ṛgveda* is shown to be the number of prākritisms which it reveals. Not only the phonology of the Ṛgvedic language but also the *saṁdhi* rules and morphology reflect prākrit traces.[11].

To turn from linguistics to culture-history, it has been now realised that the Vedic culture must not be studied as an isolated phenomenon. It has to be

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[4] N. S. Trubetzkoy, " Gedanken ūber das Indogermanen-problem ", *AL* 1, 81-89.

[5] V. Pisani, " L'indoeuropien reconstruit ", *Lingua* 7, 337-348.

[6] V. Pisani, *Indogermanisch und Europa*, Mūnchen, 1974.

[7] For details, see : Dandekar, *Exercises in Indology*, 28-36; 50-57.

[8] Siddheshwar Varma, " The broad features of the Vedic accent", *JUPHS* 18, 6-15

[9] J. Gonda, " Syntax and verse structure in the Veda ", *Turner Jubilee Vol. 1 (IL)*, 35-43.

[10] J. Gonda, *Op. cit.*

[11] A. M. Ghatage, " A Prākrit tendency in Ṛgveda ", *IHQ* 21, 223-26.

meaningfully correlated on the one hand with the history of the IEs and on the other with the pre-Vedic and the post-Vedic periods of the cultural history of India. One has also to beware of viewing the Vedic culture as the development of one single homogeneous culture-strand. It is, verily, the result of brisk culture-contacts and inevitable racial fusions. The Veda does not reflect the earliest religious situation in India nor does it even reflect the religious ideology and practices of the entire Vedic Aryan community. It is, indeed, asked whether the Vedic religion as such ever assumed a complete and perfected form at any given moment, whether it underwent any systematization at any time. Nevertheless it is claimed that the key to an insight into the Vedic religion is to be found in its cosmogony—cosmogony characterised by various successive stages such as those represented by the primeval undifferentiated unity, the birth of Indra, the dichotomisation of the Asuras as gods of the primordial world and the Devas as gods of the celess tial world, the slaying of the dragon by Indra whereby the Devas and the Asura came to terms, and the coming over of Asura Varuṇa to the side of the Devas.[12]

One of the most outstanding contributions to the study of the Vedic religion in recent times may be said to be constituted of the attempts to delve deep into the formal intricacies and complexities of the Vedic sacrifice with a view to discovering its inner essential meaning. For instance, Vedic sacrifice is shown to have originally been fiercely agonistic and violent. It purported to forcing access to the transcendent world through a controlled but always dangerous manipulation of death and destruction.[13] The basic purpose of Agnihotra, it is pointed out, is not so much a daily homage to Agni as a solar charm to assist the sun in his transition from night to day and *vice versa*.[14] The sacrificial *Dakṣiṇā* is regarded as expressing the cosmic circulation of the "goods of life" put in motion by the sacrificer,[15] while *Ucchiṣṭa* (that is, the remnant of the *Brahmaudana*) is understood as a very potent substance which establishes an uninterrupted connection with the next ritual.[16]

Friends, you will thus see that the study of the Veda has not only not lost its age-old fascination but has opened up several new avenues of approach. In my talk this morning I have chosen for consideration three questions relating to Vedic exegesis which have acquired a sort of topical interest in recent years.

The first question pertains to the extent of the applicability of Pāṇini's grammar to Vedic exegesis. Pāṇini (P.) may be said to have dealt with the special

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[12] F. B. J. Kuiper, " The basic concept of Vedic religion ", *Hist. Rel.* 15, 105-20.

[13] J. C. Heesterman, " Review ", *IIJ* 21, 47-49.

[14] H. W. Bodewitz, *The Daily Evening and Morning Offerings* (*Agnihotra*) *according to the Brāhmaṇas*, Leiden, 1976.

[15] Cf. C. Malamoud, *Le sacrifice dans l'Inde ancienne*, 155-204.

[16] C. Malamoud, " Observations sur la notion de ' reste ' dans le brahmanisme ", *WZKSA* 16, 5-26.

features of Vedic in a little over 200 rules scattered through the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*A*). Two extreme views have been put forth on the subject of the applicability of those rules to Vedic exegesis. On the one hand it has been averred that P.'s Vedic rules are quite inadequate in so far as they do not cover all the Vedic facts.[17] They also betray a lack of principle as regards the facts noted. Further, the terminology used by P. in his treatment of Vedic is inconsistent. Reference is also made to the theoretical lacunae in the *A.*, such as the ignoring of the category of subject and the unconcern over the sentence as also to the misleading character of the *Dhātupāṭha*. As against this, P.'s treatment of Vedic grammar is claimed to be quite systematic and to have been based on an intimate knowledge of the Vedic texts, particularly the Vedic *Saṁhitās*.[18] In connection with his editions of the *Kaṭha - Saṁhitā* and the *Maitrāyaṇī - Soṁhitā*, Leopold von Schroeder has strongly vindicated P.'s accuracy in the Vedic domain. He has specially admired the direct and definite statements of the ancient Indian linguistians including P. about the occurrence of certain roots or word-forms.[19] P.'s grammar helps the ascertainment of the exact formation of a word. His information is well founded, and not arbitrary. His Vedic rules enlighten many a difficult and ambiguous passage in the *ṚV*. P. is thus a dependable and indispensable guide in the matter of Vedic interpretation. As a corollary to this, it is asserted that Vedic interpretation, in order that it should be acceptable, must be faithful to P's Vedic rules.

One has, however, to concede that the Vedic portion of P.'s grammar has various glaring limitations and deficiencies. P.'s use of terminology is not very precise, as can be seen from a critical study of such terms as *nigama*, *chandas*, etc. The term *mantra* is said to denote, according to P., a *ṛk* or a *yajus* as opposed to a *brāhmaṇa*, but this is not borne out by P. III.1.35 ff. It is also generally seen that P. is more interested in the morphology of a word than in its sense. Many of his rules, accordingly, prove to be rather rigid so far as the interpretation of a word in any particular context is concerned. Further there is reason to believe that P. either did not know, or having known, ignored, some Vedic texts which we know today. Otherwise he would have referred to the fact that the *Śatapatha - Brāhmaṇa* shows only two accents. Actually he does not seem to be aware that there are several other systems of accentuation than the one described by him. His use even of the material with which he seems to have been familiar is by no means exhaustive nor entirely free from error. For instance, his treatment of prolation (*pluti*) in the context of ritual is shown to be only illustrative and not exhaustive. One also wonders whether, in many cases,

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[17] Cf. for instance : Whitney, " The Veda in Pāṇini ", *GSAI* 7, 243-54; *Sanskrit Grammar*, eighth issue 1955; Keith, " Pāṇini and the Veda ", *IC* 2, 735-748.

[18] Cf. for instance : Thieme, *Pāṇini and the Veda,* Allahabad, 1935; Bhawe, " Pāṇini's rules and Vedic interpretation ", *S. K. Chatterji Fel. Vol.*, 1955, 237–249.

[19] L. von Schroeder, " Das Kāṭhaka ", *ZDMG* 49, 145-171.

P. has not allowed his passion for—indeed, obsession with—brevity to override the demands of clarity and accuracy. P. has not noted many Vedic formations though they are really peculiar. His work is obviously eclectic and cannot claim universal applicability.

Indeed, it would appear that Vedic was treated in the *A.* only secondarily.[20] The *chandas* and the *bhāṣā* cannot be said to have been given equal weight. It has been rightly pointed out that P's system is essentially dictated by the structure of classical Sanskrit and that the Vedic peculiarities are derived by patch-up rules added to the rules established for and motivated by classical Sanskrit. Such treatment of Vedic as an extension of classical Sanskrit has resulted in the Vedic grammar having become deficient. For instance, the 10 *lakāras* (tense-mood categories) may constitute an efficient device for presenting the verb-system of classical Sanskrit, but, as has been rightly pointed out, they can by no means adequately represent the cross-classification of tense and mood in Vedic. The Vedic analyses in the *A.* are often loose and have accordingly tended to render P.'s Vedic rules mostly generalizations. As for the purpose of P.'s Vedic rules, it is suggested that they are meant either for indicating the *ārṣa* forms which have to be avoided in the standard language[21] or for emphasizing that those forms are not to be regarded as incorrect since they are derivable from the rules of grammar.[22] Actually, however, some scholars have gone even to the extent of saying that, if all the specifically Vedic rules were erased from the *A.*, one could scarcely tell from the structure of what would remain that it had ever contained them.[23] Incidentally, it is not without significance that the post-Pāṇini grammars do not generally deal with Vedic.

The situation being as described above, one has to admit that absolute and exclusive validity cannot be claimed for P.'s Vedic rules so far as the interpretation of the *ṚV* is concerned. They may be used as an aid—and sometimes as a corroborative authority — for Vedic interpretation, but they should on no account be allowed to control or orient Vedic interpretation. It is what Oldenberg calls the tenor of any particular context which should generally serve as the deciding factor, even against P.'s rules. Let us consider a couple of Ṛgvedic passages.[24] *ṚV* I. 25.7 reads: *vedā yo vīnāṁ padam antarikṣeṇa patatām* l *veda nāvaḥ samudriyaḥ*. Varuṇa, the administrator of the cosmic law Ṛta, is here said to be cognizant even of the commonly

[20] P. Kiparsky, "Pāṇini and Vedic", (in) *Pāṇini as a Variationist.* Poona, 1979, 56-75.

[21] S. Lēvi, " Des prēverbs chez Pāṇini ", *MSL* 14, 276-278.

[22] Thieme, *Op. cit.*

[23] Kiparsky, *Op. cit.*

[24] The two Ṛgvedic passages considered here have been already dealt with by G. V. Devasthali — of course, with quite a different conclusion being arrived at — in " Pāṇini and Ṛgvedic exegesis ", *ABORI* 48-49, 75-81.

imperceptible phenomena. The word *nāvaḥ* in the third pāda of this verse can either be feminine accusative plural or feminine genitive singular. The tenor of the context, however, requires that *nāvaḥ* should conform to the word *vīnām* in the first pāda; that is to say, it should be understood as a genitive like *vīnām*. This is confirmed by P.'s rule of accent VI. 1. 68. So we shall be justified in interpreting *nāvaḥ* not as accusative plural being the object of *veda* ('he knows the boats') but as genitive singular to be construed with *padam* which has to be understood as being repeated here from the second pāda and which is the proper object also of the second *veda* ('he knows the track of the boat'). The word *samudriyaḥ* in the third pāda can be parsed as feminine accusative plural of *samudrī* qualifying the feminine accusative plural *nāvaḥ* ('he knows the sea-faring boats'); but, as suggested above, this is unacceptable. *Samudriyaḥ* may be alternatively understood as masculine nominative singular, being the subject of the second *veda* ('[Varuṇa] the sea - dweller knows ...... '). P.'s accent rules would seem to support this explanation. It may also be argued that the mention of Varuṇa as *samudriya* (sea-dwelling) has some relevance in the context of boats. I am, however, inclined to think that there is no special propriety in stating that the god who dwells in the sea knows the track of the boat. Besides, *samudriyaḥ* will have to be syntactically connected also with the first two pādas (*yaḥ* [*samudriyaḥ*] *vīnāṁ padaṁ veda* [*saḥ*] *samudriyaḥ nāvaḥ padaṁ veda*) ; and this is certainly not appropriate. As against this, the tenor of the verse requires that *samudriyaḥ* should conform to the adjectival genitive phrase *antarikṣeṇa patatām* which qualifies *vīnām*. In other words, *samudriyaḥ* also has to be understood, even regardless of P.'s rule (IV. 4. 118), as a feminine genitive singular of *samudrī*, qualifying *nāvaḥ*. One can properly speak of *padam* ' track ' only with reference to something which is in motion, namely a boat sailing across the sea (*samudriyaḥ nāvaḥ padam*, rather than the static *nāvaḥ padam*). The verse may then be translated; " Who knows the track of the birds flying through the midregion - (he) knows (the track of the boat sailing across the sea ".

ṚV II. 39.4 reads : *nāve 'va naḥ pārayataṁ yuge ' va nabhye ' va nv upadhī ' va pradhī 'va | śvāne ' va no ariṣaṇyā tanūnāṁ khṛgale 'va visrasaḥ pātam asmān.* It is a prayer to Aśvins for rescue from dilapidation. Here, according to the accent rule of P., the word *nāvā* in the first pāda will have to be taken as instrumental singular (" Do you two bring us across as with a boat "). But the other nouns joined to *iva* in this verse, like *yugā*, *nabhyā*, *upadhi* etc,, are all nominative dual forms and are obviously to be understood as the *upamānas* of Aśvinf (understood). Naturally, therefore, *nāvā* too has to be made to conform to the general pattern and to be interpreted, even against P.'s rules, as nominative dual. Aśvins are not implored to use any boat to help the supplicants cross beyond, but they are implored themselves to act as two boats as it were. If it is argued that an appeal is made to Aśvins to rescue the supplicants by means of a boat in the same way as they are reputed to have rescued Bhujyu by means *arāvā*, then the word *iva* would be out of place.

To regard Aśvins themselves as two boats is certainly a more apt imagery. Incidentally, Sāyaṇa also takes *nāvā* as nominative dual.

Two other linguistic factors which have a bearing on Vedic exegesis may be briefly touched upon in the present context. In connection with the interpretation of the Veda, etymology too should not be given undue weightage. Like P.'s grammar, it is a good servant but a bad master. Etymology of ten tends to be an insolated activity; it is divorced from — and may even contradict—usage. It may help the understanding of the approximately original meaning of a word, but it has to be realised that between the original meaning of a word and its meaning in some later context, there occur many vicissitudes of life and thought which vitally influence the semantic development of that word. Similarly, one has to be exceedingly wary of accepting the validity of etymology for the comprehension of the Vedic mythology. The etymology of the name of a Vedic god, even if correct—and one cannot be too sure of its correctness - , is mythologically unhelpful, because the meaning which it furnishes is so general that it may designate a number of different things and conseqeuntly provide no clue to the precise individual character of the god in question. And, further, by sticking rigidly to a particular meaning provided by etymology, shall we not be ignoring the peculiar polysemantism (Vieldeutigkeit) which constitutes one of the distinguishing features of the magico - ritual vocabulary of the Veda ?

Now the other factor. It is suggested that the Vedic texts, including the family-books of the *ṚV*, bear evidence of a Dravidian substratum influence [25]. Dravidian, it is claimed, has influenced not only the phonology and vocabulary of Vedic but also its sentence structure. I think that this is an exaggerated view. In this connection, a reference is often made to the retroflexion in the *ṚV* having originated on account of Dravidian contacts. It is, however, rightly pointed out[26] that in the *ṚV* we have evidence for the contacts, conflicts, and confrontations of the Aryans with the non-Aryans but that there is no evidence for convergence with them. The Aryan speech at that time could not have been phonologically affected by any foreign speech. It is further pointed out that the origin of retroflexion in Sanskrit lies not so much in the Aryans' borrowing this trait from the Dravidians in the early times as in the Dravidians' adapting the Aryan speech to their native phonology. There is also the view[27] that spontaneous cerebralization has taken place in Sanskrit on

[25] F. B. J. Kuiper, "The genesis of a linguistic area", *IIJ* 10, 81-102; M. B. Emeneau, "The Indian linguistic area revisited", (in) *Contact and Convergence in South Asian Languages*, 1974.

[26] Madhav M. Deshpande, "Genesis of Ṛgvedic retroflexion. A historical and sociolinguistic investigation", (in) *Aryan and Non-Aryan in India*, 1978, 235-315.

[27] T. Burrow, "Spontaneous cerebrals in Sanskrit", *BSOAS* 34, 538-559.

quite a massive scale. There has occured in Sanskrit a process of fission by which the original dentals of Indo-Iranian have in Indo-Aryan been partly replaced by cerebrals without the presence of any predisposing influence. It has been suggested that such fission of one sound into two took place early in Indo-Aryan, beginning in the Vedic age. According to this view the case of cerebrals being due to loan-words from Dravidian or some other non-IE sources does not stand. In some cases, where Dravidian explanation has been proposed previously, a more satisfactory explanation is now available from the IE side.[28]

I should like to conclude this section regarding Vedic exegesis and grammar by raising a few fundamental issues. Grammar may have conduced to the standardization of Vedic to some extent, but are we justified in expecting the Ṛgvedic seer-poets to have always been grammatically conscious? Certainly, their religio-poetic fervour must have occasionally made them impervious to the rigid rules of grammar. Similarly it is not unlikely that the so-called metrical irregularities in the *ṚV* were actually intended to serve some deliberate expressive function. Prosodic license can in many cases be shown to enhance the poetic charm of a passage, as, for instance, in *ṚV* V. 59.2 where it helps to delineate beautifully the rocking movement of the ship.[29] One must also fully appreciate the importance of the metaphorical transfer in a language and not concern oneself only with the primary sense as Yāska and Pāṇini seem to have done. And finally, is it not the general experience that for a proper understanding of the *ṚV*, an approach to it oriented by the mere knowledge of the language, however profound and grammatically precise, does not suffice? What is basically needed is an insight into what may be called the mystique of the Ṛgvedic seers. Indeed, it is even suggested that an extensive study of the magico-religious traditions of the different parts of the world would alone bring about a greater appreciation of the *ṚV*.

The second question relates to the *ṚV* and what is called—not very happily—'solemn' ritual.[30] How may one characterise the *ṚV-Saṃhitā*? Is it the result of poetic creativity—a lyrical anthology pure and simple? Or is it a product of priestly activity dictated by the needs of the ritual—a liturgical collection from the very beginning? Some scholars have described it as a collection of the aristocratic Aryan cult. It is averred that the *ṚV* is not a spontaneous and naive expression of a naturalistic religion as it has been usually assumed to be, but a product of a highly learned and sophisticated class of ritual priests. As against this, it is urged that the *ṚV* is an outcome of true religious fervour. There is also the view that the *ṚV* can be best understood if approached rather as a linguistic fact, with emphasis on literary and literalistic values, than as a sociological document.

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[28] Thieme, "The Sanskrit language" *JBRS* 58, 197-223.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Cf. J. Gonda, *Hymns of the Ṛgveda not employed in solemn Ritual*, 1978.

At the very outset, it may be conceded that purely poetical or aesthetic activity must have been alien to the Vedic times. Anthropologically, all literature or art produced in a milieu similar to that of the Veda is known to have been essentially functional in character. The poetic form or the 'rhythm' of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* is not so much an aesthetic feature as a magico-religious necessity. Rhythm is the way in which the 'atemporal' expresses itself in the 'temporal'. It has also been pointed out that the figures of speech or *alaṁkāras* in the *ṚV* are intended primarily for rendering the *mantras* magically perfect and efficacious (*alam*) and not as mere poetic embellishments. Similarly, it would not be correct entirely to discountenance the significance of the *ṚV* as a content-oriented culture-historical document and to approach it merely as a linguistic fact.

At the same time, the ritual as is reflected in the *Brāhmaṇas* and particularly the *Śrautasūtras* could never have been the main purpose of the *ṚV*, for the simple reason that it was a post-Ṛgvedic development. That the *ṚV Saṁhitā* defiinitely did not originate as a liturgical collection is clear from its very structure and arrangement. The main factor which has governed the *Saṁhitīkaraṇa*—except in respect of the ninth *maṇḍala* is authorship, the other factors being the *devatā* and the length of a hymn. Even the ninth *maṇḍala*, which consists exclusively of the hymns relating to Soma, cannot be said to reflect the later Soma-sacrifice. The subsequent ritual application of a Ṛgvedic *mantra* or hymn by no means implies its ritual origin or character. But, though mostly non–ritualistic in origin and character, the *ṚV* is nonetheess essentially religious in origin and character. The fundamental distinction between the Ṛgvedic religion and the solemn Vedic ritual must never be lost sight of. At one stage in the history of Vedic philology it used to be asserted that the Ṛgvedic mythology and the Vedic ritual were inseparable and that the former could not be adequately studied without constant reference to the latter. But the Ṛgvedic mythology can be shown to have hardly any relation to the 'solemn' ritual.

So far as I have been able to see, the idea that the Vedas have originated for the sole purpose of ritual is rather late and has been expressly set forth, for the first time, in the *Vedāṅga - Jyotiṣa* (*vedā hi yajñārtham abhipravṛttāḥ*). The Mīmāṁsā dictum, *āmnāyasya kriyārthatvād ānarthakyam atadarthānām*, is perhaps later, and the tradition that, before undertaking the study of any hymn of the *ṚV*, one must know the four features of that hymn, namely the seer, the metre, the divinity, and the *viniyoga* or ritual application, is evidently later still. Once it was accepted that the main purpose of the Vedas, including the *ṚV*, was ritualistic, it naturally became generally incumbent to invent some *viniyoga* for every hymn of the *ṚV*. The view, *viniyojakaṁ brāhmaṇam*, ('the *Brāhmaṇa* defines the ritual purpose of a Vedic text'), also came to be vigorously canvassed. It is, however, seen that the *viniyoga* or the application of a hymn or a *mantra* in solemn ritual is rarely inherent in that hymn or *mantra*. Even an avowedly ritualistically oriented commentator like Sāyaṇa has not been able to assign *viniyoga* to each hymn or *mantra*. Very often he has to satisfy himself by

such evasive remarks as *viniyogo laiṅgikaḥ* ('the ritual application is to be inferred from the indicatory marks') or *gato viniyogaḥ* ('the ritualistic application has already been mentioned or it is traditionally well known', implying thereby that it need not be specifically mentioned again). All attempts — even the modern ones — to establish the applicability of the *mantras* to a specific ritual are nothing more than exercises in squaring the facts with an artificial tradition. Most of the *viniyogas* of Ṛgvedic *mantras*, whether in the *śrauta* or the *gṛhya* ritual, are forced ones. They do not show that the purport of the *mantras* has been taken into account. Some of them are based upon a mere similarity of words (*padasādṛśya*) as in the oft-quoted instance, '*dadhikrāvṇo akāriṣam iti agnīdhrīye dadhidrapsān prāśya*'. (*Āśv ŚS*). Dadhikrāvan in the *ṚV* is actually the name of a horse and has nothing whatsoever to do with curds (*dadhi*) the consuming of which is prescribed in the *Āśv ŚS*. Then there is the similarity of letters or sound (*akṣaravarṇa - sādṛśya*) which has led to still stranger *viniyogas*. The *mantra*, *śaṁ no devir abhiṣṭaye* ...., which pertains to Āpaḥ, is prescribed to be employed in the worship of Śanaiścara (Saturn) in a *gṛhya* rite (on account of the similarity between *śaṁ no* and *śanaiḥ*), the *mantra* '*udbudhyasva*........', in the worship of Budha (Mercury) in another *gṛhya* rite, and the *mantra*, *bhadraṁ karṇebhiḥ śṛṇuyāma* ...., in connection with the piercing of the ear of a child (*karṇavedha*). When no specific *viniyoga* could be thought of, even in a forced manner, there was prescribed, as a last resort, as it were, what may be called an omnibus *viniyoga*, e.g, *Āśvine saṁpatsyamāne sūryo no deyād api sarvā dāśatayir anubrūyāt* (*Āp ŚS*) or *sarvā ṛcaḥ sarvāṇi yajūṁṣi sarvāṇi. sāmāṇi vācastome pāriplave śaṁsati* (introduction to Sāyaṇa's commentary).

The *Brāhmaṇas* themselves are fully aware of the fact that the sense of most of the *mantras* employed for ritualistic purposes does not in any way conform to the ritual action which those *mantras* are prescribed to accompany. This becomes clear from the *Brāhmaṇa* - reference to *rūpasamṛddhi* : *etad vai yajñasya samṛddhaṁ yad rūpasamṛddhaṁ yat karma kriyamāṇam ṛg abhivadati*. When the sense of the *mantra* conforms to the rite which is being performed in the accompaniment of that *mantra* — that rite becomes endowed with the perfection of form, it becomes richly efficacious. This statement would have no relevance if the applicability of a *mantra* to a specific rite, from the point of view of the sense of that *mantra*, were always evident. As against this concept of *rūpasamṛddhi*, there arose a school of ritualists who insisted that there was no necessity of the sense of a *mantra* conforming to the ritual action which it accompanied. For, they believed that the only *raison d'etre* for a *mantra* was its traditional *viniyoga* — the sense of the *mantra* mattered but little : *anarthakāḥ hi mantrāḥ*.

The post-Ṛgvedic period was characterised by an inordinate growth in the variety and complexity of ritual. This growing ritual needed *mantras* to accompany its many rites. So a new *mantra* - producing activity, as it were, came to be started. As

can be gathered from the *Brāhmaṇas*, and particularly from the *Śrautasūtras*, this activity had several aspects. The old established *mantras* were revised to suit the new ritual. New *mantras* were extemporised and employed. That is why they are not traceable in any of the existing *Saṁhitās*. New *mantras* are also seen to have been made up of fragments — often contextually unrelated fragments — of old *mantras*. Some of these are included in the *Khila*. Then there were *mantras* composed in imitation of well-known old mantras. For instance, the *Maitrāyaṇī - Saṁhitā* (as also the *Taittirīya - Āraṇyaka*) contains eleven *mantras* which are obvious imitations of the famous Sāvitrī Gāyatrī in the *ṚV*, *tat savitur vareṇyaṁ bhargo devasya dhīmahi / dhiyo yo naḥ pra codayāt*. There are poor and often meaningless imitations and refer to later divinities like Nārāyaṇa, Gaṇapati, etc. (e.g. *ekadantāya vidmahe vakratuṇḍāya dhīmahi / tan no dantī pra codayāt* ; *tat puruṣāya vidmahe mahādevāya dhīmahi / tan no rudraḥ pra codayāt*).

A major part of the *ṚV* is constituted of mythological legends, panegyrics and prayers which are unconnected with the performance of any solemn ritual. The religious efficacy of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* lies in their very utterance ; they do not need any elaborate ritual action either to vivify them or to render them effectual. The *mantras* produce sacred magic, and that verily, is their main and only purpose. This sacred magic has to be distinguished from religion as it is generally understood. It may be broadly stated that magic, which is a very definite rung in that poor ladder which man has tried to climb up in his efforts to ascertain the unknowable[81], and which, incidentally, is closer to science than to religion, is a way of making people believe that they are going to get what they want, while religion is a system which persuades them that they ought to want what they get[82]. I have always thought that the true significance of the profuse use of the subjunctive mood in the *ṚV* is to be sought in this characteristic feature of the Ṛgvedic *mantra*. The subjunctive is less peremptory than the imperative but more so than the optative. The Ṛgvedic prayer which is often clothed in the subjunctive implies 'compelling' 'unignorable' appeal. It is expressive of *kratu* (that is, 'will' which stands between wish and command) which is described in a *Brāhmaṇa* as that mental activity which is invariably and immediately followed by its concrete physical result. The *mantras* of the *ṚV*, thus, are of non-ritual yet practical religious origin ; they are all sacred in character in so far as they are found 'suitable for entering into contact with the universe.'

The third question to which I now wish to turn briefly is the Ṛgvedic mythology and Indo-Europeanism.[83] The study of Sanskrit, particularly Vedic, in the West gave rise to the rapid development and consolidation of two disciplines, namely, comparative linguistics and comparative mythology. In the early years of

[81] J. W. Hutton, *Caste in India*, 1946.

[82] V. Gordon Childe. *History*, 37.

[83] For greater details, see : Dandekar, *Vedic Mythological Tracts*, 351-365.

this study, the Vedic mythology had come to be regardéd rather as an aspect of the IE mythology than as an Indian mythology. In course of time, however, there followed the inevitable reaction to this extreme postion. Strong exception came to be taken to what were called ' international generalities ' encouraged by comparative mythology. The essentially Indian character of the *ṚV* was emphasised, and attempts were made to interpret that Veda with the help of the post-Vedic Indian literature. It is not intended here to trace, at any length, the various vicissitudes in the fortunes of comparative mythology vis-a-vis the Vedic mythology. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that the discipline of comparative mythology has, in recent years, once again come into its own, thanks mainly to the prolific work of Dumezil. But this revival has proceeded along quite different lines. There is evident a clear shift of emphasis from lexical analogues to structural similarities, - from an atomistic approach to the Vedic mythology to a structuralist approach. It is not possible, within the limits of this paper, to subject to a critical analysis this fresh intrusion of Indo - Europeanism on the Ṛgvedic mythology. I shall, therefore, restrict myself to making a few general observations.

As has been suggested above, comparative linguistics, particularly the etymologies of the names of the Vedic gods, should not be made the starting point of any study of the Ṛgvedic mythology. Comparative mythology too has but limited scope in this regard. Indeed, the Ṛgvedic mythology is much farther removed from the IE mythology than the Vedic language from IE. One must also guard against mistaking 'universal' concepts for IE concepts. Similarly, the importance of anthropological and ethnological factors in the formation and development of mythology should not be underestimated. The Dumezilian pattern of functional tripartition provides too narrow, too rigid, and too arbitrary a frame to contain all the variety and complexity of the Ṛgvedic mythology. Vedic mythology is by no means a static phenomenon. It is essentially an evolutionary mythology. Its character is determined, at different stages, by the vicissitudes in the life of the Vedic Aryans. So approached, the mythology as it emerges from the *ṚV* itself will be found to show only few, faint and feeble IE elements. Compared to the mythologies of some other IE peoples, the development of some of the IE elements appears to have been arrested in the Vedic mythology (as in the case of Dyauḥ) while the nature of some others is seen to have undergone a conspicuous change on account of the peculiar influences to which they had been exposed (as in the case of Aśvins).

The Vedic religion and mythology began to receive their first distinctive characterisation during the proto-Aryan period while the common ancestors of the Vedic Aryans, the Iranian Aryans and the Anatolian Aryans had been living together presumably in the region of Balkh. The concept of Ṛta or cosmic order and the 'binder' gods Varuṇa and Mitra, the simple Soma cult, and the peculiar fire cult are some of the principal exclusive features of the newly evolved Aryan reli-

gion. The migration from Balkh to Saptasindhu and the early settlements in Saptasindhu, which had been beset with many impediments (*vṛtrāṇi*), natural and human, gave rise to the mythology of *vṛtrahan* Indra, the human hero who was transformed into a war-god. This was the result of mythologisation of history. Understandably enough, the *ṚV*, a major part of which corresponds with the Aryan conquest and colonization, is dominated by the figure of Indra. Side by side with the hieratic religion centering round Varuṇa, Indra, Agni, and Soma, there existed several popular religious cults among the Vedic people. Similarly, in their new environments, the Vedic Aryans confronted some pre-Vedic non-Aryan religious cults which had been widely spread and deeply rooted and which they could neither ignore nor overwhelm. They accommodated these popular and non-Aryan cults into the framework of their own religion and mythology. This becomes evident, for instance, in the mythology relating to Viṣṇu and Rudra. The obviously artificial association of the popular gods with Indra, who, as it were, served as the philosopher's stone in respect of the hieratic elevation of those gods, the tendentious suppression or transformation of some of the original traits of the popular and non-Aryan religious ideologies, and the solarization of the originally non-solar divinities are some of the features of this process of hierarchisation of popular cults.

Friends! Various claims have been traditionally made on behalf of the Veda — claims such as that the Veda is *apauruṣeya*, that it possesses absolute validity, that it is the fountain-head of the entire Indian culture. I now want to add to these claims one more claim, namely, that the Veda is an inexhaustible and ever-absorbing subject of study and research.

अहं राष्ट्री संगमनी वसूनां चिकितुषी प्रथमा यज्ञियानाम् । तां मा देवा व्यदधुः पुरुत्रा भूरिस्थात्रां भूर्यावेशयन्तीम्॥ मया सो अन्नमत्ति यो विपश्यति यः प्राणिति यईं शृणोत्युक्तम् । अमन्तवो मां त उपक्षियन्ति श्रुधि श्रुत श्रद्धिवं ते वदामि॥ अहमेव स्वयमिदं वदामि जुष्टं देवेभिरुत मानुषेभिः । यं कामये तं तमुग्रं कृणोमि तं ब्रह्माणं तमृषिं तं सुमेधाम्॥

"I am the Queen of the land, the bringer of treasures ; I am the knower and the first among those to be propitiated with a sacrifice ; Me the gods have placed everywhere in manifold forms and immanent in every thing. It is by me that one eats; he who sees, he who breathes, he who hears what has been said, does so by me ; they that know me not, decline. O you that have ears to hear, listen to this that can be yours by faith ; I shall teach you. This that gods as well as men seek, I of my own accord shall tell you. Whomsoever I love, him I make formidable, him a Brahman, a man of vision, a man of excellent intellect."

— Ṛg Veda X. 125-3-5.
Vāg Āmbhṛṇī Sūkta

Rgveda 1. 36. 13 and 14

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According to the Anukramaṇī the deity of the stanzas 13 and 14 of the Agni hymn ṚV. 1, 36

ūrdhva ū ṣu ṇa ūtaye tiṣṭhā devo na savitā
ūrdhvo vājasya sanitā yad añjibhir vāghadbhir vihvayāmahe
ūrdhvo naḥ pāhy aṃhaso ni ketunā viśvaṃ sam atriṇaṃ daha
kṛdhī na ūrdhvāñ carathāya jīvase vidā deveṣu no duvaḥ

is the sacrificial post (*yūpa*), not the god of fire (*....āgneyam .... ūrdhva ū ṣu yaupyau*). This statement is far from convincing. The post is, in these two stanzas, neither addressed nor referred or alluded to. On the other hand, although Agni is not mentioned either, the two stanzas have much in common with stanzas that are unmistakably addressed to this deity. Agni (the ritual fire) is said to rise upwards, i.e. to rise up in flame (1, 95, 5 "lui debout, dans le giron de (ces femelles gisant) (viz. the pieces of firewood) en travers"[1]; 5, 1, 2; 6, 63, 4; 10, 1, 1), or requested to take an upright position (4, 4, 5; 10, 70, 1). In 2, 38, 2 Savitar, to whom Agni is compared, is likewise described as assuming the same position *ūrdhvaḥ pra bāhavā ... sisarti*). Agni is also elsewhere compared to the sun in its different aspects (1, 66, 1; 1, 69, 1; 148, 1; 2, 2, 7; 8 etc.). Like Savitar in, 1, 22, 5 he is in 1, 35, 1 and 1, 45, 4 called upon for help, favour, or protection (*ūtaye*; *avase*). His help or protection is implored (*pāhi naḥ, pāhy asmān*, also in 1, 189, 4; 4, 4, 15; 8, 60, 9). In stanza 14 Agni is requested to extend his sympathy with his 'banner' (*ketu*), i.e. with his rising flames and rays of light, a term and an aspect of fire which recur in 5, 60, 8 where the god is expressly addressed. The words *vidā deveṣu no duvaḥ* "find a privileged position (honour)[2] for us among the gods" in 14 d are reminiscent of 1, 71, 7 d (Agni hymn) *vidā deveṣu pramatiṃ cikitvān*. Moreover, st. 14 b *viśvaṃ sam atriṇaṃ daha* "do thou consume every devouring demon" is identical with 20 d (cf. 6, 16, 28 d, an Agni hymn). The two stanzas do not create the

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1. L. Renou, Etudes vediques et paṇineennes, XIII, Paris 1964, p. 25 f.

2. For *duvas* see e.g. Renou, E. V. P. X, Paris 1962, p. 61. P. E. Dumont, The animal sacrifice in the Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 106 (1962), p. 249 prefers " Find our worship among the gods ".

impression of being an interpolation. The words *vājasya sanitā* "winner of creative (vegetative, vital, invigorating) power" in st. 13 c may be regarded as correlated with *tvaṃ vājasya.... rājasi* "thou rulest over creative power" in 12 c and the prayer for protection against distress in 14 a is naturally continued in 15 a *pāhī no agne rakṣasaḥ* "protect us, O Agni, from the demon".

Whereas the commentators Skandasvāmin and Veṅkaṭamādhava make no mention of a special deity of the two stanzas, Sāyaṇa in his introductory note, whilst quoting the Anukramaṇī, begins by stating that their deity is the sacrificial post ; then he raises the problem as to how this ascription is possible because ĀśvŚ. 4, 13, 7 does not state that the two stanzas are a 'selected' passage which is addressed to another deity. In his opinion the solution is that Agni is the deity also of the two stanzas 13 and 14 because he is praised while his 'substratum' is the sacrificial post; that is why these stanzas do not occupy a special position; as however the poet wishes to state the predominance of the 'substratum' these stanzas (also) belong to the post ; so there is no incompatibility. Mudgala, whose commentary is based on Sāyaṇa's work, is obviously of the opinion that the stanzas are addressed to the sacrificial post : in his opinion the ointment mentioned in st. 13 c (*añjibhiḥ*) is applied to this object. As SV. I, 59; ṚV. 1, 36, 1 is said to praise the god of fire, as I, 57 st. 13 is to eulogize the *yūpa*. The Bṛhaddevatā, after stating (3, 107) that 1, 36 is addressed to Agni informs us that st. 13 and 14 as well as 3, 8, 1-5 (see below) are addressed to the sacrificial post (4, 100).

It is worthwhile to examine the ritual uses of the hymn in its entirety and of the two stanzas under discussion as a separate unit. The hymn is quoted in the two Ṛgvedic *śrautasūtras* as a component part of the morning litany (*prātaranuvāka*) of the *soma* festival of one day's duration (ĀśvŚ. 4, 13, 7; ŚŚ. 6, 4, 7; see also ŚŚ. 14, 53, 5). The two stanzas are, also together, more frequently employed.

Stanza 13 alone occurs as VS. 11, 42 among the *mantras* for the construction of the great fire-place which is identified with Agni himself. According to KŚ. 16, 3, 1 ff. the *adhvaryu* picks up a lump of clay, places it on a lotus-leaf, lifts up the four ends of the skin of a black antelope and the lotus-leaf which lies on it, ties them together and wraps them round the lump of clay and the lotus-leaf. Then he stands up taking the wrapped up lump of clay and muttering VS. 11, 41 (cf. ṚV. 8, 23, 5 f., an Agni hymn) "Arise, O thou that art well adapted to the sacrifice, protect us well... ", come, O Agni .... The lump of clay, which is to be used for the making of the fire-pan is indeed Agni (cf. ŚB. 6, 3, 3, 1). Thereupon (KŚ. 16, 3, 8) the *adhvaryu* holds it to the east with his arms lifted upwards to the accompaniment of VS. 11, 42 (= ṚV. 1, 36, 13). It is perfectly clear that here again Agni is addressed : "Rise up erect to give us aid, like god Savitar : erect as a winner of *vāja* when we in competition with (other) officiants, with (their poetical ?)

ornaments [3] call upon (thee)". The same act and use of the *mantra* are known to the authorities of the Black Yajurveda : TS. 4, 1, 4d (where the stanza likewise occurs after a stanza that, corresponding with ṚV. 8, 23, 5 f., invokes Agni by his name). From 5, 1, 5, 3 it however appears that stanza 13, remarkably enough, is here said to be addressed to Savitar. The comment made there upon the ritual injunction differs from ŚB. 6, 4, 3, 10 (on VS. 11, 42) where, it is true, Agni is identified with the sun. In TS. 5, 1, 5, 3 Agni when tied up is said to be connected with Varuṇa ; "with the two (stanzas) addressed to Savitar (4, 1, 4 c d) he rises up; verily; instigated by Savitar, he sends aloft the wrath of Varuṇa that is in him...." Similarly, ĀpŚ 16, 3, 8 "he stands up with the two stanzas addressed to Savitar...." See also KS. 16, 4 : 224, 7 ; 19, 5 : 5, 16 and KapS. 30, 3 : 140, 23, with the same explanation as well as MS. 2, 7, 4 : 78, 13 (the same stanzas) and for the ritual use MŚ. 6, 1, 1, 32 : with these stanzas he takes the hide and rises up. It is clear that those who used st. 13 in this way did not deviate much from what must be considered its original sense and employment (Agni being implored to rise up in flame) : Agni represented by the clay is lifted up by the *adhvaryu* who assumes a standing position. It may be observed in passing that ṚV. 1, 36, 9 is also used in the same part of the *agnicayana* ritual : VS. 11, 37 "Seat thee ; thou art mighty ; shine..., O Agni....", pronounced when the *adhvaryu*, places the lump of clay on the lotus-leaf (KŚ. 16, 3, 1); otherwise TS. 5, 1, 4, 5.

In MŚ. 3, 5, dealing with the *prāyaścittas* relating to the animal sacrifice, the two stanzas that correspond to ṚV. 8, 23, 5 f. and 1, 36, 13 are in 4, where they are said to accompany two libations, prescribed in case the victim after having fallen stands up again. The same injunction is, on the same occasion, given in ĀpŚ. 9, 18, 10 but here only 1, 36, 13 is quoted. Has the author omitted the other stanza deliberately because it contains the name Agni which did not seem to be relevant in this context? How to explain the use of 1, 36, 13 in addressing the sacrificial animal? Did the beginning "stand up...." (*ūrdhvaḥ....tiṣṭha*) suffice to make it suitable for this purpose? Or was the belief that Agni is an animal (ŚB. 6, 3, 1, 22 *paśur vā agniḥ*) at the back of the mind of the one who introduced this stanza here ?

In another *prāyaścitta* rite the supposition that the object necessitating the reparation or expiation is identical with Agni has probably somewhat more to recommend it. If in performing the *pravargya* ritual the cauldron (*mahāvīra*) [4] in which the milk is heated

3. The meaning of *añjibhir vāghadbhiḥ* is uncertain; " possibly an allusion to the men who anoint (*añjanti*) the sacrificial post " (Dumont, 1. cit., translating " radiant performers (of the sacrifice)", but in my opinion the stanza was not originally addressed to the post.

4. On this important object which is addressed as a supreme god see J.A.B. van Buitenen, The pravargya, Poona 1968, p. 9 ff.

has fallen over one should set it upright with two stanzas quoted from TĀ. 4, 20, 1, viz. ṚV. 1, 36, 13 (see above) and 14 "Erect do thou protect us from distress with (thy) banner; do thou burn up every Atrin (demon)...." (BŚ. 9, 17 : 290, 11 ; BhŚ. 11, 17, 9: ĀpŚ. 15, 17, 7; see also MS. 4, 9, 12 : 134, 2. Now, the Mahāvīra pot is in ŚB. 9. 2. 1, 21 identified with Agni; in KB. 8, 3 (8, 4. 7) and 8, 7 (8, 8, 38 *asau vai mahāviro yo' sau tapati*) it is said to be "he yonder that gives heat", i.e. the Sun, with whom Agni is often identified or to whom he is compared (cf. ṚV. 7, 88, 2; ŚB. 6, 1, 2, 20; 7 1, 1, 23; 8, 6, 1, 16 etc.). As observed elsewhere[5] ṚV. 1, 36 had originally nothing to do with the *pravargya* ceremony but the use of st. 9 (see above) "Sit down...." (addressed to Agni) is no doubt intelligible : "they make him (the Mahāvīra pot) sit down" (AiB. 1, 19, 5; cf. also VS. 38, 17; ŚB. 14, 1, 3, 15; TĀ. 4, 5, 2 etc.). The employment of ṚV. 1, 36, 7, though regarded as appropriate in AiB. 1, 22, 8,[6] does not seem to be very suitable, however : the words "Him indeed, the self-ruling one, they worship reverentially....; men kindle Agni with oblations" can hardly be expected to have anything to do with the turning of the cauldron upside down by the *adhvaryu* (ŚS. 5 10, 26). Whereas the use of ṚV. 1, 36, 13 and 14 in the above *prāyaścitta*, though secondary, is intelligible, their occurrence in AiB. 1, 22, 8 ĀśvŚ. 4, 7, 4) dealing with the offering of the hot milk and especially with the *adhvaryu's* going forward with the pot, placing it etc. is, of course, not out of place but at first sight not evidently the only possibility.

Proceeding now to discuss the use of the two stanzas in connexion with the sacrificial post I recall what is said in AiB. 2, 2, 1 ff. ; when the post has been anointed it "has to be set up on the surface of the earth". Among the *mantras* to be recited is ṚV. 3, 8, 2 - this *sūkta* deals with the *yūpa* - "Being fixed before (probably : to the East of) the kindled (fire)", - "rightly, because it is erected there" (AiB. 2, 2, 10) - "driving indigence far from us"; - "indigence is hunger, the evil, verily thus he drives it away from the sacrifice and the sacrificer" (AiB. 12) - "do thou rise erect for great good fortune". The last words (ṚV. 3, 8, 2d) are immediately followed by 1, 36, 13[7] and explained (AiB. 16) "verily thus he gains him (or it : *enam*, no name or object mentioned) as a gainer of *vāja*, a gainer of possessions". Quoting st. 14 AiB. 19 ff. observes that it means to say "burn the demons, the evil; make us erect for moving, for life" and invokes a benediction. Although these two stanzas are far from being out of place the question might be raised as to why they are made to interrupt the quotations from ṚV. 3, 8. The answer seems to be that the ideas they express are after st. 1 and 2 which have already been used (AiB. 2, 2, 2 ff.; 12 f.) not found in that *sūkta*. In the corresponding passage KB. 10, 2 (10, 3, 1 ff.) enjoins that ṚV. 3, 8, 3; 2; 5 as well as 1,

5. J. Gonda, A propos of the mantras in the pravargya section of the ṛgvedic brāhmaṇas, IIJ 21 (1979), p. 235 ff.; esp. p. 238; 246; 256; 257.

6. If this is the stanza quoted, see W. Caland, Śāṅkhāyana Śrautasūtra translated, Nagpur, 1953, p. 120.

7. See J. Schwab, Das altindische Thieropfer, Erlangen, 1886, p. 71.

36, 13 and 14 (in this order) which contain the words that express the ideas "erected" and "up(wards)" should accompany the erection of the post after it has been anointed. It seems clear that according to the author of this more succinct passage - with which ŚŚ. 5, 15, 3 is in complete concordance - these ideas are thought to be so important as to necessitate the addition of 1, 36, 13 and 14 to 3, 8, 3 (*ūc chrayasva....* in a), 2 (*ūc chrayasva* in a), and 5 (*ud iyarti vācam* in d). But why has the author chosen 1, 36, 13 and 14 and not, for instance, 1, 95, 5; 4, 4, 5; 5, 1, 2 or 10, 70, 1? My supposition would be that those stanzas which contain Agni's name or an unmistakable reference to him - or to another god (e.g. 3, 49, 4) - were regarded as unsuitable (see e.g. also 2, 30, 3; 4, 6; 1; 4; 6, 63, 4; 7, 39, 1; 10, 1, 1; 10, 20, 5; 10, 123, 7). So were stanzas dealing with events or acts that are inconsistent with the actual circumstances, viz. the acts to be accompanied and consecrated : e.g. 1, 28, 1; 3, 4, 4; 9, 85, 12; 9, 98, 3; 10, 90, 4.

The same five stanzas are also quoted (in full) in TB. 3, 6, 1, 2 (in the order in which they occur in AiB. 2, 2) but, since their recitation is a duty of the *hotar*, they are not prescribed in the ritual handbooks of the Taittirīyas. They occur likewise in MS. 4, 13, 1 : 199, 4 ff. and (with 3, 8, 4 instead of 5) in KS. 15, 12 : 298, 14 ff.

In addition to the above observations on the suitability of the two stanzas for this purpose attention may be invited to the following points. These stanzas have not only the words for " erection, upwards etc. " in common with the stanzas quoted from 3, 8, the words *vāghadbhir vihvayā mahe* of 1, 36, 13 d are strongly reminiscent of *vāghadbhir vā vihave* in 3, 8, 10 c, a stanza prescribed at KB. 10, 2 (10, 3, 2) when the last post is set up.[8] There are, moreover, in the ritual texts several allusions to more or less intimate relations between the post and Agni or the sacrificial fires. The *yūpa* stands immediately in front of the fire (cf. ŚB. 4, 2, 1, 19; AiĀ. 5, 1, 2). If for instance there are eleven victims and one post only Agni's victim is tied to the post (" let them only immolate at the post that for Agni " ŚB. 3, 9, 1, 23; cf. K.S. 8, 8, 28). In setting up eleven posts one should begin with the one opposite the fire (ŚB. 3, 7, 2, 4 ff.), which is said to be the centre of the posts (13, 4, 4, 6); it is called *agniṣṭha* " standing by the fire " (5: cf. TB. 3, 9, 1, 2). Special attention is paid to that corner of the post which faces the fire; it is placed opposite the fire. for " it is the sacrificer, and the sacrificer is fire " (ŚB. 3, 7, 1, 16; cf. 13; 13, 2, 6, 9; TB. 3, 9, 5, 2 *yajamānadevatyo vai yūpaḥ* " the post has the sacrificer as its deity (i.e. represents the sacrificer)". See also TS. 6, 3, 4. So — if the above argument is right — those who transferred the two stanzas from Agni to the sacrifical post did not need to have the impression that they were borrowing from a stranger. And, to wind up with, the conclusion seems warranted that the use of 1, 36, 13 and 14 together with some stanzas of the *yūpa* hymn ṚV. 3, 8 induced the ancient authorities to regard them also as addressed to the post (see the combination of 1, 36, 13; 14 and 3, 8, 1-5 in the Bṛhaddevatā, 4, 100).

8. As to *oñjanti* in 3, 8, 1 and *añjibhiḥ* see above, fn. 3.

ऊर्ध्व ऊषु ण ऊतये तिष्ठा देवो न सविता ।
ऊर्ध्वो वाजस्य सनिता यदंजिभिर्वाघद्भिर्विह्वयामहे ॥

ऊर्ध्वो नः पाह्यंहसो निकेतुना विश्वं समत्रिणं दह ।
कृधी न ऊर्ध्वाञ्चरथाय जीवसे विदा देवेषु नो दुवः ॥

ऋग्वेद. १. ३६. १३, १४.

The area of Śyenaciti in the Āpastamba tradition

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As a valuable help to a clear understanding of the Vedic sacrificial rituals, I used to take the opportunity of witnessing the performances of Soma-sacrifices which took place in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu and Kerala from time to time. As for the Śyenaciti, I had witnessed two performances following Bodhāyana tradition. Later on, I had an occasion to witness the piling up of a Śyenaciti following the Āpastamba tradition. What struck me at that time in particular was the smaller size of the Citi and the bricks. I made enquiries in several quarters which confirmed the same practice in almost[1] all regions where the Āpastamba school is flourishing. While the Bodhāyana Citi measured an area of seven and a half Puruṣas (*sārdha saptavidha*), the Āpastamba-Citi covered the area of only one (and a half) Puruṣa (*ekavidha*).

The reduction of area from Saptavidha to Ekavidha was effected by proportionate reduction in the measurement of a *puruṣa*. Consequently, sizes of the bricks were also reduced. The following table will show the differences :

	Name of *iṣṭakā*	Measurements (*aṅgulas* in ĀpŚuS (6.19. 1-7)	Reduced measurements[2]
1.	षोडशी	15, 45, 30, 42. 14	5, 15. 18, 10. 32, 16.15
2.	अर्धेष्टका	30; 30, 42. 14	10. 32, 10.32, 15.18
3.	पादेष्टका	30, 15.12, 15.12	10.32, 7.26, 7.26
4.	पक्षेष्टका	30, 30, 17. 5, 17.5	10.32, 10.32, 6.9, 6·9
5.	पक्षमध्यीया	30, 30, 17.5, 17.5	12. 18, 12, 18, 10.32, 10.32
6.	पक्षसीमा	39, 47.5, 59.21	10.32, 17.7, 21.27

I, therefore, thought it expedient to study the literary sources with a view to tracing the origin of the tradition.

1. I shall be glad to know if there is any exception to this practice.

2. cf. *Sāgnicityasarvapṛṣṭhāptoryāmayāga* Appendix, Poona 1934, also observed personally at Gokarna (Karnataka) in a similar performance in 1978. cf. also *Satyāṣāḍhaśrautasūtra* part 5, Poona 1927, Satyāṣāḍhacayanasūtropodghāta pp. 1-8.

The Brāhmaṇa portions in the TaittirĪya, Kāṭhaka, and MaitrāyaṇI recensions of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda directly (or indirectly) mention the Śyenaciti of seven and a half Puruṣas (TS 5. 2. 5; 4. 11; KS 20. 3; MS 3. 1. 10). The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (Mādhyaṁdina) mentions in the main portion of the Śyenaciti seven Puruṣas as the area of the Citi (6. 1. 1. 6). The supplementary portion of the ŚBr (10. 2. 3. 16-17) mentions the view of some teachers that one should first pile up the Citi with an area of one Puruṣa, and extend the area by one Puruṣa in each succeeding piling. The Brāhmaṇakāra, however, refutes this view and says that one should first pile up the Citi with an area of seven and a half Puruṣas only[3].

Coming to the Śrautasūtras, we find that *BaudhŚS* 10. 10. prescribes a Citi with an area of six or seven or twelve or more Puruṣas. *Satyāṣāḍha* (11. 6. 18-20) and Vaikhānasa (18. 14) Śrautasūtras prescribe a Citi with an area of seven Puruṣas. *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra* (16.4) mentions the same size. Āpastamba prescribes the measuring of Agni in a few sūtras (ĀpŚS. 16. 17. 8-16[4]) :

"The Adhvaryu measures the Agni with a bamboo as long as the sacrificer with raised hands. 8. Three Puruṣas (from the West) towards the east; and four Puruṣas (from the South) towards the north. 9. The wings (each) and the tail should be of one Puruṣa area. 10. The Ātman should have the area of four Puruṣas. 11. The Adhvaryu extends the southern wing towards the south by one *Aratni* 12. Similarly the northern one towards the north 13. He extends the tail towards the West by a *prādeśa* (10 *aṅgulas*) or a *vitasti* (12 *aṅgulas*). 14. "The Agni piled up for the first time has the area of one Puruṣa; for the second time, of two Puruṣas; for the third time, of three Puruṣas. Thus they extend the area up to 101 Puruṣas. 15. As against this, one should indeed pile up the Agni with an area of seven Puruṣas. The basic Agni indeed consists of an area of seven Puruṣas. Beyond that one should pile up Agnis-each succeeding one to be extended by one Puruṣa". So says the *Vājasaneyaka Brāhmaṇa*. 16.

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3. तद्धैके। एकविधं प्रथमं विदधात्यथैकोत्तरम आपरिमितविधात्। न तथा कुर्यात्....तस्मात् सप्तविधमेव प्रथमं विदधीत। अथैकोत्तरमैकशतविधात्।

4. यावान् यजमान ऊर्ध्वबाहुस्तावता वेणुनाग्निं विमिमीते ॥ ८ ॥ त्रीन् प्राचश्चतुर उदीचः ॥ ९ ॥ पुरुषमात्राणि पक्षपुच्छानि ॥ १० ॥ आत्मा चतुःपुरुषः ॥ ११ ॥ अरत्निना दक्षिणतो दक्षिणं पक्षं प्रवर्धयति ॥ १२ ॥ एवमुत्तरत उत्तरम् ॥ १३ ॥ प्रादेशेन वितस्त्या वा पश्चात्पुच्छम् ॥ १४ ॥ एकविधः प्रथमोऽग्निः। द्विविधो द्वितीयः। त्रिविधस्तृतीयः। त एवमेवोद्यन्त्यैकशतविधात् ॥ १५ ॥ तदु ह वै सप्तविधमेव चिन्वीत सप्तविधो वाव प्राकृतोऽग्निस्तत ऊर्ध्वमेकोत्तरानिति वाजसनेयकम् ॥ १६ ॥

Sūtra 15 is said to be prescribing the Citi of one, two or three Puruṣas upto 101 Puruṣas. If, however, we compare sūtras 15 and 16 with the ŚBr passage just quoted, it will be clear that both these sūtras together present the Vājasaneyaka view, that the ŚBr view has been cited in the ĀpŚS rather loosely, and that the statement in sūtra 15 is a *prima facie* view. Caland has correctly rendered these two sūtras[5].

Following the ĀpŚS, the Āpastamba Śulbasūtra (khaṇḍa 8 sūtras, 10-19)[6] dilates upon the area of the Śyenaciti. The relevant Sūtras are translated by Satya Prakash and Ram Svarup as follows :—

The first fire-altar is of one Puruṣa. 10. The second (fire–altar) is of two Puruṣas. 11 The Third (fire-altar) is of three Puruṣas. 12. They (i.e. the fire-altars) go on like this up to hundred (Puruṣas). 13. Hence and so, the Saptavidha (i.e. fire-altar with seven Puruṣas area) is taken to set up the fire-altar. 14. The Saptavidha is the present concerned fire. 15. Later on the fire-altars having one or more Puruṣas (than this) are to be considered; it is known like this. 16. In the case of fire-altars of the area of one Puruṣa etc. neither wings are present nor tail[7]. This is so because the sūtra (or vākya) where the Saptavidha fire-alter is told only remains. 18. (The sūtra in which the Ekavidha etc. fire-altars are mentioned is cancelled) due to the contradiction of the Śruti"[8]. 19.

This translation needs to be modified at some places. In sūtra 13 ekaśata means " hundred and one " not " a hundred"- The emphasis in sūtra 14 is not clear. The sūtra rejects the view expressed in the preceding sūtras and prescribes that one should

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[5]. "ŚBr. 10, 2, 3, 17-18 welcha Stelle aber von Āp. mit grossen Freiheit widergegeben wird. Ich vermute nāmlich dass auch Āpastamba sūtra 15 zu der Aussage des Vājasaneyins zu rechnen ist." *Das Śrautasūtra des Āpastamba*' dritter Teil p. 35, Amsterdam 1928.

[6]. एकविध: प्रथमोऽग्नि: ॥ १० ॥ द्विविधो द्वितीय: ॥ ११ ॥ त्रिविधस्तृतीय: ॥ १२ ॥ त एवमेवोद्यन्त्यैकशतविधात्॥ १३ ॥ तदु ह वै सप्तविधमेव चिन्वीत ॥ १४ ॥ सप्तविधो वाव प्राकृतोऽग्नि: ॥ १५ ॥ तत ऊर्ध्वमेकोत्त रानिति विज्ञायते ॥ १६ ॥ एकविधप्रभृतीनां न पक्षपुच्छानि भवन्ति ॥ १७ ॥ सप्तविधवाक्यशेषत्वात् ॥ १८ ॥ श्रुतिविप्रतिषेधाच्च ॥ १९ ॥

[7] BaudhŚuS 8. 14-15 disagrees with the view of some teachers who prescribe Ekavidha Agni without wings and tail.

[8] *Āpastamba Śulbasūtra* English trans. pp. 50-51 edited by Satya Prakash and Ram Svarup Sharma, New Delhi 1968.

pile up a Citi with an area of seven (and a half) Puruṣas. In sūtra 15 prākṛta means "basic." Sūtra 16 should be translated as: "subsequently one should pile up Citis with areas extended by one Puruṣa each. So is it said." Sūtra 18 needs to be rendered as "(The statement about the one - Puruṣa Citi is to be regarded as a *prima facie* view) it being the śeṣa of the injunction regarding the Citi of seven and half Puruṣas."

It may be observed that ĀpŚuŚ 8. 10-19 is a faithful copy of ĀpŚŚ 16. 17. 15-16. The only difference is that instead of vājasaneyakam in the ĀpŚŚ, the ĀpŚuŚ says iti vijñāyate. Therefore the relation which exists between ŚBr and ĀpŚŚ passages stands also between the ŚBr and ĀpŚuŚ passages. All these three sources mention the view of some teachers that the first Agni should be of the area of one Puruṣa. This view was probably prompted by the idea that since there are Agnis with the areas less than seven and a half Puruṣas[9] and since it was not desirable to pile up an Agni of a smaller area after having piled up an Agni of a larger area[10], it would be proper that one should first pile up an Agni of the minimum area i.e. one Puruṣa. The view was however, set aside on the ground of clear scriptural injunction that the first Agni must be of an area of seven and a half Puruṣas. There was another ground to set aside this view, namely, that the Agni of one Puruṣa area is basically without wings and tail (ĀpŚuŚ 8. 17). There cannot be a Śyena (a bird) without wings and tail; hence the notion of one Puruṣa Agni was out of consideration.

It may be observed that this view of one Puruṣa Agni has been mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa alone; the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda recensions are silent about it. It may also be noted that among the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda schools only the Āpastamba and Satyāṣāḍha refer to it.

There is thus no support in the Śrauta or Śulba Sūtra itself of Āpastamba for the present-day practice of one-Puruṣa Agni. The next literary source is the commentaries. So far as the Śrautasūtra is concerned, Rudradatta has not commented beyond the fifteenth Praśna. Dhūrtasvāmin's bhāṣya on Praśna sixteenth is not printed so far. For the Śulbasūtra there are three commentaries: Kapardisvāmin's bhāṣya and the commentaries by Karavinda and Sundararāja.[11] Kapardisvāmin who flourished prior

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[9] BaudhŚuS 10, 16-17 refers to the views of some teachers who prescribe Praūga and other Citis with Ekavidha and further types of Agni and also with square area. Satya Prakash and Ramsvarup note here (p. 204) that these were restricted to the patterns other than a bird.

[10] न ज्यायांसं चित्वा कनीयांसं चिन्वीत । BaudhŚuS. 2. 18.

[11] cf. Āpastambaśulbasūtra with the commentaries of Kapardisvāmin, Karavinda and Sundararāja, Mysore 1931 ; cf. also note 8.

to the eleventh century A.D. takes the Ekavidha as the basic area (*prakṛti*) in relation to the subsequent Agnis upto the Ekaśatavidha in his bhāṣya on ĀpŚuS 8. 10-16.[12] He further treated the succeeding statement of Saptavidha as an optional injunction and maintained that at the second subsequent Agnis the sacrificer may optionally pile up the Saptavidha Agni.[13]

Karavinda who deemed both the statements as of equal status decided, following the Mīmāṁsā method, that either the one-Puruṣa Agni or seven-Puruṣa Agni may be piled up for the first time.[14] He further explained sūtra 17 in the following way : In ĀpŚuS 9.14.[15] Āpastamba prescribes a rule for defining the measure of a Puruṣa for measuring the area of a Citi with wings and tail in the event of increase or decrease in the area of Saptavidha Agni. If Ekavidha Agni is regarded as the basic Agni (*prakṛti*), the subsequent Agnis would be its modifications (*vikṛti*) and therefore would be without wings and tail. The Agni of seven-Puruṣas and onwards would of course be with wings and tail. If Ekavidha Agni is taken to be the modification (*vikrti*) of Saptavidha Agni it (and also the succeeding ones) would be with with wings and tail.[16] (Karvinda's Comm. on ĀpŚuS. 8.17) The Ekavidha Agni, even though a modification that is, with wings and tail) may be piled up first, on the analogy of the Atirātra[17] a modification of Agniṣṭoma having been prescribed tobe performed first. (Karavinda's Comm. on ĀpŚuS. 8.17).

Sundararāja agrees with Karavinda in the interpretation of ApŚuS 8. 17,

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12 एकः पुरुषो यस्मिन्निति एकविधः। एकपुरुषादेकोत्तरं चिन्वीतेति प्रथमातिक्रमे कारणाभावात्।

13 वाजसनेयिकमिति अग्निविकल्पविधानात् विकल्पं सप्तार्धमपि द्वितीये विहारे चिन्वीतेत्येतदपि लभ्यते।

14 एकविधो वा प्रथमः सप्तविधो वा प्रथमः comm. on ĀpŚus. 8-17.

15 सपक्षपुच्छेषु विधाभ्यासेऽपचये च विधासप्तमकरणीं पुरुषस्थानीयां कृत्वा विहरेत्।

16 यदैकविधः प्रकृतिः प्रथमाहारः तदासावपक्षपुच्छः . . . यदैकविधो विकृतिः प्रथमाहारः तदासौ सपक्षपुच्छः।

17 यदा सप्तविधः प्रकृतिः इतरे तद्विकाराः तदैकविधादयोऽप्यष्टविधवत् सपक्षपुच्छा एव भवेयुः, एवं विधापचयोक्तः सप्तविधविभागोऽर्थवान् भविष्यति, तत्रातिरात्रवद्विकृतेरपि कदाचित् प्रथमतोऽनुष्ठानमेकविधस्य लभ्यत एव।

The dates of Karavinda and Sundararāja are yet to be ascertained. It is, however, evident that they lived after Kapardisvāmin, that is, after the eleventh century A.D. It may be said in general that the tradition of piling up Ekavidha Agni for the first time goes back to the last three or four centuries.[18]

The Ekavidha Agni might have been introduced for practical reasons also. A general rule is that the Citi must be accommodated within the Mahāvedi. The Citi is the substitute for the Uttaravedi which, as a rule, stands within the Mahāvedi. It therefore follows that the Citi must not cross the borders of the Mahāvedi.[19] Now a *prakrama* with which the Mahāvedi is measured is variously defined as *ekapada*, *dvipada* or *tripada*. A *pada* consists of 15 or 12 *aṅgulas*, In actual practice there is a natural tendency to reduce the area of the Mahāvedi. Supposing that a *pada* of 12 *aṅgulas* was taken for a *prakrama*, the width of the Mahāvedi towards the east would come to 288 *aṅgulas* (24 × 12). The South-North width of the Ekavidha Agni would come to about 240 *aṅgulas*. Consequently it would lie within the Mahāvedi of the minimum area.

Conclusion :— A critical study of the literary sources indicates that the Agni to be piled up for the first time must have an area of seven and a half Puruṣas. Consequently the tradition of the Ekavidha Agni prevailing among the Āpastambins cannot be said to have a sound basis. It is based on a passage of the ŚBr which was not faithfully reproduced in the ĀpŚuS and the ĀpŚuS. The status of Śruti was given to this passage, and this socalled Śruti and the genuine Śruti were regarded as optional injunctions. The absence of wings and tail in the use of the basic Ekavidha Agni was the next problem. It was solved by deeming the Ekavidha as the modification of Saptavidha Agni having wings and tail. A sūtra (ĀpŚuS 9. 14) was cited in justification of the Ekavidha Agni with wings and tail,

The old tradition of Saptavidha Agni which was in vogue in all other recensions since the beginning was thus set aside. The applying of the Mīmāṁsā rule to the introduction of Ekavidha Agni was wrong for two reasons : firstly, the statement of Ekavidha Agni in the ĀpŚS and ĀpŚuS was wrongly given the status of Śruti ; secondly, the advocating of the performance of a modification rite namely, the piling up of Ekavidha Agni with wings and tail was against the accepted principle of performing a basic rite before a modification-rite. The analogy of Atirātra - a modification-rite of the basic Agniṣṭoma being performed first is not convincing because, firstly, the prescription of Atirātra is a genuine Śruti,[20] and secondly both the Agniṣṭoma and Atirātra are scripturally characterised by *jyotis*.[21].

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[18] Mr. Chinnaswami Sastri (*Yajñatattvaprakāśam* p. 102, Madras 1953) has described the Citi of seven and a half Puruṣas.

[19] In the Agnicayana - Atirātra (Baudhāyana) performed at Pannal in Kerala in April 1975, the Citi was spread outside the Mahāvedi for which probably a *pada* was taken as a *prakrama*.

[20] TS 7. 2. 9. 2.

[21] TS 7. 1. 1-2.

On the Untraced Kalpa-citations in Sayana's Commentary on the Taittiriya Samhita

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Sāyaṇācārya in his commentary on the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (TS) profusely quotes either from *Baudhāyana* or *Āpastamba Śrauta - Sūtra* to point out the *Viniyogas* of the *Mantras*. While commenting on TS 1.1.2, he has explicitly stated this intention.[1] Occassionally he also quotes from the Āśvalāyana.

While editing the Sāyaṇa's Commentary for the Vaidika Samśodhana Mandala, Poona, I have come across a number of citations quoted from the *kalpas*. Unfortunately their sources have remained untraced. I shall refer to a few of them for discussion.

(1) *TS 2.5.9* : कल्पः—अथ निवित्पदान्यन्वाह देवेद्धो, मन्विद्ध इति सप्तमे स्वनिति

अथ चतसृषु ।

This Kalpa refers to the recitation of Nivid by the Hotṛ priest. ĀpŚS 24.11.17—24.12-1 सामिधेनीरनूच्य प्रवरमुक्त्वा निविदोऽन्वाह । तासां सप्त पदान्युक्त्वा अपानिति । अथ चत्वार्यथ चत्वारि ।

only gives the gist of the cited Kalpa.

Āśvalāyana ŚS 1.2-27, 1-3-6 . . इति निगदेऽवसाय . . . . देवेद्धो मन्विद्ध ऋषिष्टुतो विप्रानुमदितः कविशस्तो ब्रह्मसंशितो घृताहवनः प्रणीर्यज्ञानां रथीरध्वराणामतूर्त्तो होता तूर्णिर्हव्यवाडिति अवसाय . . . . etc., is only the collateral text to the quoted citation.

This Kalpa does not appear in any form in the extant text of Baudhāyana. It should have appeared in 24.28 after the prescription of Pravaras.

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1 . . . . इत उर्ध्वं यत्र द्वयोर्विशेषाभावः तत्र अन्यतरस्यैव विनियोग उदाहरिष्यते । p. 41 of V.SM Edition Vol. I pt. 1.

(2) TS.2.5.9- कल्पः— देवतां देवतामावाह्य व्यनित्याग्निमग्न आवह सोममावहाग्निमावह प्रजापतिमित्युपांश्वाव हेत्युचैर्यद्देवेत्यो वा भवत्यग्नीषोमावावहेन्द्रानि आवहेन्द्रमावह महेन्द्रमावह देवां आज्यपां आवहाग्निं होत्रायावह स्वं महिमानमावहेति न स्वं महिमानमावहेदा वाग्ने देवान् वह सुयजा च यज जातवेद इत्युक्त्वा इति। – अत्रवाहन निगदो मन्त्रकाण्डे (तै. ब्रा. ३. ५. ३) समाम्नातः सर्वोऽपि सूत्रकारेण पठितः। (TS 2.5.9)

The parallel text in the Āśvalāyana ŚS 1.3.7-22 is -

अग्न आवहेति तु प्रथम-देवताम्। अग्निं सोममित्याज्यभागौ। अग्निमग्नीषोमाविति पौर्णमास्याम्। अग्नीषोमयोः स्थान इन्द्राग्नी अमावास्यायामसंनयतः इन्द्रं महेन्द्रं वा संनयातः। अन्तरेण हविषी विष्णुमुपांश्वैतरेयिणः। . . . . . . देवां आज्यपां आवहाग्निं होत्रायावह स्वं महिमानमावहावह जातवेदः सुयजा यजेत्यावाहय। etc.

This kalpa citation could not be found in the ĀpŚS or BauŚS. Apparently the 'Sūtrakāra' reproducing the entire nigada from the 'mantra-Kāṇḍa' (TBr 3.5.3) must be one belonging to the Taittirīya School. This means that Sāyaṇācarya may have quoted this Kalpa most probably from Baudhāyana if not from Āpastamba.

(3) *TS* 2.5.5 - कल्पः— अथ स्रुगादापनेन स्रुचावादापयत्यग्निर्होता

वेत्त्वित्यनुवाकेनाध्वर्युर्जुहू-प्रभृतौ स्रुचावादत्ते।

Sāyaṇācarya has in this respect further cited from ĀpastambaŚS 2.17. 1 - 'धृतवतीशब्दे जुहूप्रभृतावादाय' इति आध्वर्यव-सूत्रे दर्शितवान् The concluding part of the untraced Kalpa clearly refers to the duty of the Adhvaryu - priest. Āśvalāyana ŚS 1.4.9-10 - प्रदीप्य इध्मे स्रुचावादापयेन्निगदेन। अग्निर्होता वेत्त्वग्नेर्होत्रं वेत्तु प्रावित्रं . . . . . . etc., forming the collateral text cannot be the source of this Kalpa-citation. Further the Kalpa-citation clearly refers to the anuvāka appearing in the TBr 3.5.4. This Kalpa must have, therefore, been quoted from the Baudhāyana; but has not been found in the present make-up of that Sūtra. Baudhāyana Srauta-Sūtra 3.28 - अथ स्रुगादापनेन स्रुचावादाप्य यथादेवतं हविषो यजति refers to the duties of Hotṛ only; while the cited Kalpa primarily refers to the performance related to the Adhvaryu priest.

(4) TS 2.6.2 - कल्पः— 'यदा जानात्यग्नयेऽनुब्रूहीति तदाऽऽग्नेयस्य आज्यभागस्य पुरोनुवाक्य-मन्वाहाग्निर्वृत्राणि जङ्घनदिति पौर्णमास्यामग्निः प्रत्नेन जन्मनेत्यमावास्यायां यदा जानात्यग्निं यजेति तज्जुषाणेन यजति जुषाणो अग्निराज्यस्य वेत्त्विति यदा जानाति सोमायानुब्रूहीति तत्स्तोमस्य

पुरोनुवाक्यमन्वाहत्वं सोमासि सत्पतिरिति पौर्णमास्यां सोम गीर्भिष्ट्वा वयमित्यमावास्यायां यदा जानाति सोमं यजेति तज्जुषाणेनैव यजति जुषाणः सोम आज्यस्य हविषो वेत्विति' । (TS 2.6.2)

ĀSSs 1.5.29 —अग्निर्वृत्राणि जङ्घनदिति पूर्वस्याज्यभागस्यानुवाक्या । त्वं सोमासि सत्पतिः इत्युत्तरस्य . . . etc., has clearly employed the Yajyās and Anuvākyas for ājyabhāga offerings. This untraced Kalpa therefore appears to have quoted either from Āpastamba or Baudhāyana but cannot be traced in their extant texts.

In the commentary on TS 2.6.2 Sāyaṇacārya has quoted the following Kalpa-citations the sources of which have remained untraced—

(5) TS. 2.6.2- कल्पः- प्रजापते स वेदेति यस्य प्राजापत्य उपांशुयाजो भवति ।

(6) TS. 2.6.2- कल्पः- तथाग्नीषोमा सवेदसा युवमेतानीत्यग्नीषोमीयस्य पुरोडाशस्य इति ।

(7) TS. 2.6.2- कल्पः- इन्द्राग्नी रोचना दिवद् श्नथःवृत्रमित्यैन्द्राग्नस्य ।

(8) TS. 2.6.2- कल्पः- ऐन्द्र सानसिं रयिं प्रसक्षाहिषे पुरुहूत शत्रू नित्यैन्द्राग्नस्य यथैन्द्रं सानाय्यम् ।

(9) TS. 2.6.2- कल्पः- य धु वै माहेन्द्रं महां इन्द्रो य ओजसा महां इन्द्रो नृवदा चर्षणिप्रा इति माहेन्द्रस्य इति ।

(10) TS. 2.6.2- कल्पः- अथ स्विष्टकृतः पिप्रीहि देवानिति पुरोनुवाक्यामनूच्य ये यजामहेग्निं स्विष्टकृतमयाडग्निरग्नेरित्युक्त्वा यथादैवतं निगदमुक्त्वा जातवेदा जुषन्तां हविरग्ने यदद्य विशो अध्वरस्येत्यृचमनूच्य यजति इति . . . . . . etc. etc.

In Āśvalāyana ŚS 1.6.1 - 5 we do find a collateral prescription. Sometimes it is so verbatim that one is tempted to refer to them as the source of the above cited Kalpa-citations. But on minute observatlon it will be clear that the untraced Kalpa-citation must have originally formed a part of the Adhvaryu-Sūtra only. The Kalpa, e.g. employs for आग्नेयपुरोडाश, the verses - viz· इन्द्राग्नी रोचना दिवः and श्नथद् वृत्रम् which appear in TBr 3.5.7. The Āśvalāyana in this respect employs -इन्द्राग्नी अवसा गतं (ऋ ७. ९४. ७), गीर्भिर्विप्रः प्रमतिमिच्छमानः (ऋ ७. ९३. ३.)

Secondly, while commenting[1] on TBr. 3.5.7 Sāyaṇacārya refers to TS 2.6.2 and suggests that the Kalpa-citation in the commentary on TS 2.6.2 bear a reference to the TBr 3.5.7.

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[1] प्रजापते न त्वदेतानि इत्यारभ्य कृत्स्नोऽपि अनुवाकशेषः चक्षुषी वा एते (तै· स २. ६. २) इत्यस्यावसाने व्याख्यातः ।

The above discussion leeds us to conclude that the untraced Kalpa-citations must have been quoted by Sāyaṇa from Baudhāyana if not from Āpastamba. But their source could not be traced to the Baudhāyana or Āpastamba texts that have come down to us.

I shall now submit the citations professed to be quoted from Baudhāyana and are totally wanting in its extant text.

(11) TS. 2.6.1- एतेषां मन्त्राणां विनियोगं **बौधायनो** दर्शयति - समिधो अग्न आज्यस्य वियन्त्विति प्रथमं तनूनपादग्न आज्यस्य वेत्विति द्वितीयम् etc.

The citation refers to the Prayājas and is absent in Baudha ŚS.

(12) TS. 2.6.2- एते याज्यानुवाक्ये मन्त्रकाण्डे (तै. ब्रा ३. ५. ७) समाम्नाते । तयोर्विनियोगं **बौधायनो** दर्शयति - अथ हविषामग्निर्मूर्धा भुवो यज्ञस्येत्याग्नेयस्य पुरोडाशस्य ।

The citation prescribes the Yājya and Anuvākya verses for āgneya puroḍāśa. It is not found in the present text of Baudh. ŚS.

(13) TS 2.6.7- एतद्विनियोगं **बौधायनो** दर्शयति-उक्ता इडाया जपास्तानुपांशूक्त्वोच्चैरुपह्वयत उपहूतेडेति प्रतीचीमिडोपहूतेति पराचीम ...... etc.

In Baudh ŚS 3.28-29 we have a reference to Iḍā इडां मुखसंमितामुपह्वयते । उपहूतं रथन्तरं.........जुषस्व मेड इत्युपांशूक्त्वोच्चैर्निरुक्तामुपह्वयते ।

Probably उक्ता इडाया जपाः in the above citation may be referring to this text of Baudhāyana.

(14) TS. 2.6.6 सूक्तवाकस्यानूयाजानन्तर - भावित्वं **बौधायनेन** दर्शितम् - अनूयाजानां प्रथमं यजति देवं बर्हिर्वसुवने वसुधेयस्य वेत्विति देवो नराशंसो वसुवने वसुधेयस्य वेत्विति द्वितीयं देवो अग्निः स्विष्टकृदिति तृतीयमनमानमनूयाजान् यजतीति ब्राह्मणमुत्तमे वाऽमत्सतेति व्यनिति यदा जानाति सूक्तवाकाय सूक्तवाकाननूक्त्वानु ब्रूहीति तदा सूक्तवाकमन्वाहेदं द्यावापृथिवी इति प्रतिपद्य इति ।

Not found in Baudhāyana ŚS 3.29.

(15) TS. 2.6.10- शंयुवाकमन्त्रस्य विनियोगं **बौधायन** आह यदानुजानाति शंयोरनुब्रूहीति तच्छं युवाकमन्वाह तच्छंयोरावृणीमह इयेतदनुवाकस्य इति

Not found in Baudhāyana ŚS 3.29,30.

There are also some citations from Baudhāyana appearing in the commentary of Sāyaṇa on Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa[1] and Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[2] But they could not be traced in the extant sūtras of Baudhāyana.

For finding out the sources of these untraced citations, I have not only used the available concordances but have gone through all relevant portions of Āpastamba (with its hautra in 24th Praśna) and Baudhāyana with its Dvaidha and Karmānta. I had consulted this problem with some Śrautis also.

Since this illustrative list of citations remains untraced, one shall have to opine that certain portion of Baudhāyana ŚS which Sāyaṇacārya could utilise has not come down to us.

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[1] e.g. T. Br. 3.6.2–

तथा च **बौधायन** आह - यदा जानाति समिद्भ्यः प्रेष्य इति त्वं मैत्रावरुणः प्रेष्यति । होता यक्षदग्निं समिधा सुषमिधा प्रमिद्धम् इति । अथ होता - यजति समिद्धो अद्य मनुषे दुरोणे इति । ताविमावेव व्यतिषङ्गम् उत्तरेणोत्तरेणमैत्रावरुणः प्रेष्यत्युत्तरेणोत्तरेण होता यजति इति ।

Not found in Baudhāyana ŚS.

[2] e.g.- (ऐ. ब्रा २. ६.६-) मैत्रावरुणोपप्रैषादूर्ध्वं होतुरध्रिगुप्रैषो **बौधायनेन** दर्शितः यदा जानाति उपप्रेष्य होतर्हव्या देवेभ्य इति तं मैत्रावरुणः प्रेष्यति अजैदग्निः इति । अथ होताध्रिगुमन्वाह दैव्याः शमितारः इति ।

Not found in Baudhāyana ŚS.

काण्डानुक्रमणिकायामुक्तम —

शाखादिं याजमानं च होतॄन् हौत्रं च दार्शिकम् ।
तद्विधीन् पितृमेधं च नवाऽऽहुः कस्य तद्विदः ॥ इति

(काण्डानुक्रमणी २. १)

शाखादिः "इषे त्वा" (तै. सं १.१) इत्यादि प्रपाठकः । याजमानं "सं त्वा सिञ्चामि" (तै. सं १. ६. १-६) इत्याद्यनुवाकषट्कमन्त्राः । होतारः "चितिः स्रुक्" (तै. आ. ३. १-१३) इत्यादयो मन्त्राः । "सत्यं प्रपद्ये" (तै. ब्रा. ३. ५) इत्यादिकं दार्शिकं हौत्रम् । तद्विधयः प्रोक्तानां चतुर्विध-मन्त्राणां चत्वारि ब्राह्मणानि । पितृमेधः "परे युवांसं प्रवतो महीः" (तै. आ. ६. १-१२) इत्यादि । तान्येतानि नव काण्डानि प्रजापतिना दृष्टानि । छन्दो - विशेषाश्च वेदाङ्गभूते छन्दोनामके ग्रन्थे द्रष्टव्याः । मन्त्रपदव्याख्यानादेव तत्प्रतिपाद्यर्थरूपा देवता विज्ञायते । ब्राह्मणविशेषस्तु तत्तन्मन्त्रव्याख्यानावसर एवोदाहियते । यद्यपि मन्त्रविनियोगा ब्राह्मणे सर्वेऽपि नाऽऽम्नातास्तथापि कल्पसूत्रकारैर्ब्राह्मणान्तर-पर्यालोचनया ते सर्वेऽभिहिताः । अतो बोधायनादि-सूत्रोदाहरणपूर्वकं ब्राह्मणानुसारेण मन्त्रार्थं योजयामः ॥

On Yāska's Etymology of Daṇḍa *

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1. In *Nirukta* (henceforth *Nir.*) 2.2 Yāska gives the following alternative explanations of the word *daṇḍya* and its meaning: *daṇḍyaḥ puruṣo daṇḍam arhati iti vā daṇḍena sampadyata iti vā* "A man (who is) *daṇḍya* (is so called because) '(he) merits punishment (*daṇḍa*)' or because '(he) is subjected to (joined with [1]) punishment'." He goes on to explain etymologically the word *daṇḍa* itself. Here again two explanations are noted: *daṇḍo dadater dhārayatikarmaṇaḥ . . . damanād ity aupamanyavaḥ.*[2]

The second derivation, though unjustified in terms of modern etymology,[3] is semantically understandable: *daṇḍa* "punishment" derives from *dam* "tame, subdue"; it is the means of subduing subjects. Moreover, Durga (ĀSS ed. of *Nir.*, p. 134) cites *Gautama Dharma Sūtra* 11.28 in support of this derivation: *daṇḍo damanād ity āhus tenādāntān damayet* "*Daṇḍa* (derives) from taming (*damana*); through it is "(the king)" to subdue the unsubdued." [4]

The first derivation of *daṇḍa,* from a verb *dadate* synonymous with *dhārayati* ("hold, wear, owe"), however, has caused some discussion, as has the example given by Yāska to illustrate this use of *dadate*: *akrūro dadate maṇim.* Let us tentatively translate this as "Akrūra holds (in his possession) the jewel (*syamantaka*)." M. A. Mehendale, in his paper "Yāska's Etymology of *daṇḍa*" [5], has questioned the correctness of interpreting the above example as meaning "Akrūra wears (*has*) the jewel." [6] He goes on to say (Mehendale 23-4): "But here the question arises: What is the relationship between the verb (*dadate*), which is taken to mean 'to have, to wear' and its derivative (*daṇḍa*), which means 'punishment'? Perhaps these scholars mean implicity what Rajvade, following Durga and Skandasvāmin, does explicitly . . . and take *daṇḍa* to mean 'a stick' (which, however, in the illustration *daṇḍya* 'one who deserves punishment', is not very likely) and thus suggest that a stick is something 'held' in the hand while a

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jewel is something 'held' on the person. The meaning 'to hold by hand', which alone may be suitable for *daṇḍa* 'stick', but not for 'punishment', is quite clearly out of the question for 'jewel'. And the meanings 'to have', to possess or 'to wear', which are likely in the case of 'jewel', can hardly be considered for the derivation of *daṇḍa*, even in the sense 'stick', the meaning 'to wear' being impossible and that of 'to possess' being too general." After summarising the story involving the jewel *syamantaka* (Mehendale 24-25) in order to demonstrate that Akrūra cannot be spoken of as wearing the jewel, Mehendale concludes (28) that, on the basis of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa version of the story, ". . . *dhārayati* with reference to Akrūra's possession of the jewel is best interpreted to mean 'to keep for someone else, to hold in trust, to OWE'." [Emphasis mine] He further concludes (Mehendale 29) that, in his explanation of *daṇḍa,* Yāska shows a knowledge of the use of *dhārayati* meaning "owe", first known from Pāṇini's grammar.[7] Thus *daṇḍa* "punishment" is, according to Mehendale, that which an offender owes. In a more recent work (*Some Aspects of Indo-Aryan Linguistics*, Univ. of Bombay, 1968), Mehendale has gone further while again treating Yāska's explanation of *daṇḍa*. He claims (p. 11) that, since the use of *dhārayati* meaning "owe" is first known from Pāṇini, Yāska's use of the verb in this sense could be used as supporting evidence for showing his posteriority to Pāṇini.

While Professor Mehendale has discussed the questions involved with his customary erudition and presented much of the evidence to be considered in full I beg to differ from him. In this paper I wish to show that: (a) Yāska's derivation of *daṇḍa* from *dadate* equivalent to *dhārayati* has to be interpreted as a derivation from a verb meaning "hold" (2); (b) the connection of *daṇḍa* "stick, staff, rod, cudgel, punishment, fine" with a verb meaning "hold" is not so semantically difficult as Mehendale would have it (3); (c) the Viṣṇu Purāṇa version of the story involving the jewel *syamantaka* affords no conclusive evidence for saying that in Yāska's example *akrūro dadate maṇim, dadate* (=*dhārayati*) must mean "owes" (4); and (d), consequently, Yāska's use of *dhārayati* in the passage concerned cannot be used even as supporting evidence for demonstrating his posteriority to Pāṇini (5).

2. It is evident from the *Nir.* itself that when Yāska states that *dadate* has the meaning of *dhārayati* (*dhārayatikarman*, see 1) this meaning is "hold". In *Nir.* 3.16 he cites *Ṛgveda* (*RV*) 1.41.9[8]: *caturaś cid dadamānād bibhīyād ā nidhātoḥ| na duruktāya spṛhayet* and paraphrases: *caturaś*[9] *cid dhārayata iti| tad yathā kitavād bibhīyād evam eva duruktād bibhīyāt* "(a gambler) holding (*dhārayatah*=*dadamānāt*, abl. sg.) four (dice); as (one gambler) should fear (another) gambler, even so should one fear evil speech."[10] In this passage there can be no question of holding for someone else, holding in trust, or owing; a gambler stands in fear of another holding four dice until the throw (see fn. 10).

There is another *Nir.* passage to be considered in connection with the word *daṇḍa.* In 3.21, commenting on *rambha* and *pināka* of *Nighaṇṭu* 3.29, Yāska notes that these are words denoting a *daṇḍa*; *rambhaḥ pinākam iti daṇḍasya.* He further derives *rambha* from *ārabh* "grasp, hold on to": *ārambhanta enam* "one holds (lit. "they hold") on to it", that is, as Durga notes (p. 281 : *askhalanārtham*), in order not to slip [11]

From the above it follows that in Yāska's explanation of *daṇḍa* the derivation from *dadate* (=*dhārayati*) is easily interpreted as merely showing a derivation from a verb meaning "hold". There remains, then, to show how Yāska could envisage a semantic connection between a staff which is held and a punishment of which one is worthy or to which one is subjected.

3. The primary meaning of *daṇḍa* is clearly "stick, staff, rod".[12] For example, in the *Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Kielhorn, henceforth *Bh.*) Patañjali gives an example of *karmakartṛ* (reflexive) usage (*Bh.* ad 3.1.87, vol. II. 67.5): *namate daṇḍaḥ svayam eva* "The stick bends of itself". We may, for our presentation, divide the primary meaning into three spheres: (a) a stick used for walking, (b) a stick or prod used for leading cattle, (c) a stick used as a weapon, a club or cudgel.

(a) *Atharvaveda* (*AV*) 10.8.27 (recurring in *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* 4.3) *tvam strī tvam pumān asi tvam kumāra uta vā kumārī / tvam jīrṇo daṇḍena vañcasi.* . . . "You are woman, you are man, you are the youth, the young girl, you are the old man going crookedly with his (walking) stick. . . ." This usage is of course to be compared with *Nir.* 3.21 (above, 2).

(b) *RV* 7.33.6: *daṇḍā ived goa janāsa asan paricchinnā bharatā arbhakāsaḥ/ abhavac ca puraetā vasiṣṭha ādit tṛtsūnām viśo aprathanta* "Like rods for leading cattle were the few (weak) Bharata trimmed 'bout; and Vasiṣṭha became the leader, then did the clans of the Tṛtsus spread." A more mundane example is offered by Patañjali (*Bh.* ad. 1.1.1, I. 38. 4-5): *devadatta gām abhyāja śuklām daṇḍena* "Devadatta, lead the white cow here with a rod."

(c) *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* 1.5.4.6: *devāś ca vā asurāś cobhaye prājāpatyāḥ paspṛdhire/ te daṇḍair dhanurbhir na vyajayanta* "The gods and the asuras, both offspring of Prajāpati, contended; they did not gain victory with sticks (clubs) (or) with bows." *AV* 5.5.4: *yad daṇḍena yad iṣvā . . . aruḥ . . . kṛtam/ tasya tvam asi niṣkṛtiḥ semam niṣkṛdhi puruṣam* "Whatever wound is produced by a stick (club), by an arrow . . ., of that are you the healing; do you heal this man." We may also note that in the fourth vārttika on Pāṇini 2.2.36 provision is made that a nominal containing a seventh-triplet ending (a locative ending, deleted in a compound) occurs after a word denoting a weapon (*praharaṇa*) in compounds of the *bahuvrīhi* type; Patañjali's examples are *asipāṇi* "in whose hand there is a sword" and *daṇḍapāṇi* "in whose hand there is a club".

We may also include in this rubrique the distinction made between two types of assault: verbal assault (*vākpāruṣya*) and physical assault (*daṇḍapāruṣya*), as noted, for example in *Manu* 8.6 (Nirṇayasāgar ed.: *pāruṣye daṇḍavācike*) and Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* (ed. Kangle, 3 18-9).[13]

3.1. A *daṇḍa* "staff" is borne (*dhṛ, dhārayati*) and it can serve as a symbol of an office or estate. For example, the funeral hymn *AV* 18 has two verses (59, 60) which say: *daṇḍam hastād ādadamāno gatāsoḥ . . . , dhanur hastād ādadamāno mṛtasya . . .* Taking the staff from the hand of him whose life is gone", "Taking the bow from the hand of the dead one", with reference to a brāhmaṇa and a kṣatriya, respectively, as Sāyaṇa notes.[14]

A staff is of course given to one entering into the estate of being a *brahmacārin* by the teacher at the initiation ceremony (*upanayana*).[15] And the *brahmacārin* bears the staff along with other symbols of his estate, such as the animal skin (*ajina*), sacred thread (*upavīta*) and the girdle (*mekhalā*); e.g., *Yājñavalkya* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.) 1. 29ab: *daṇḍājinopavītāni mekhalām caiva dhārayet, Viṣṇusmṛti* (Adyar Library Series ed.) 28.8: *mekhalādaṇḍājinopavītadhāraṇam.*[16] *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* 2.5. 11 gives among the duties of the *brahmacārin* the bearing of the staff (*daṇḍadhāraṇa*), caring for the fire (*agniparicaraṇa*), obeying his teacher (*guruśuśrūṣā*) and begging for alms (*bhikṣācaryā*). For a more detailed list of the equipment of a *brahmacārin* reference may be made to the verse cited in the commentary on *Viṣṇusmṛti* 28.8, where not only the staff etc., but also the water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*) is noted (*daṇḍam kamaṇḍalum . . . brahmacārī tu dhārayet*). With regard to the *kamaṇḍalu* I would recall Pāṇini 2.3.21 (*itthambhūtalakṣaṇe* [*tṛtīyā* 18]). This provides for introducing the instrumental endings when there is to be denoted a characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) of a state which has been reached (*itthambhūta* "become thus"). One of the standard examples of commentators is (cf. *Kāśikā*) *api bhavān kamaṇḍalunā chātram adrākṣīt* "Did you see (recognize) the student with (by) his water pot?"[17]

3. 2. The bearing of the staff (*daṇḍadhāraṇa*) is thus a duty of a *brahmacārin* and the staff is a symbol of his estate. Similarly is the staff or rod the symbol of a ruler, who is also called *daṇḍahara*; e.g., Kauṭilya 1.4.14: *balīyān abalam hi grasate daṇḍadharābhāve* "The stronger swallows the weak when there is not a ruler (bearer or wielder of the rod)."[18] As a symbol of royal power, the rod then comes to be used in the meaning of the punishment meted out by the ruler. Now, for inflicting punishment two synonymous expressions are used: *daṇḍam kasmimś cit pātayati* ("let fall the rod [punishment] on someone") and *daṇḍam . . . dhārayati*; e.g., *Manu* 8.126; *daṇḍam daṇḍyeṣu pātayet*, 11.21: *na tasmin dhārayed daṇḍam.* Hence, the compound *daṇḍadhāraṇa* could mean not only "bearing of a staff" (above, 3.1) but also "wielding the rod, meting out punishment" as, e.g., in the verse from the *Vivādaratnākara* (cited in *Dharmakośa* I. 1, p. 593, col, 1 bottom): *rājāno mantriṇaś caiva viśeṣād enam*

āpnuvuḥ| aśāsanāt tu pāpānām natānām daṇḍadhāraṇāt "Kings and their ministers attain it [evil] most assuredly as a consequence of not chastising evil and inflicting punishment on the well behaved."[19]

3.3. It is clear, then, that *daṇḍam dhārayati* meant "bear a staff, rod" as a symbol of an office or estate, such an office being that of ruler. The bearing of the staff (wielding of the rod) was the wielding of royal power, hence the infliction of punishment, so that *daṇḍa* acquired the meanings "punishment", "fine".[20] And it is not proper to deny Yāska the ability to see such a connection between *daṇḍa* "stick, staff, rod" and *daṇḍa* "punishment". Sanskrit usage, as illustrated above, most certainly must have enabled him to see a connection between *daṇḍa* and a verb meaning "hold" (*dadate=dhārayati*).[21]

4. I believe I have shown in the preceding sections that Yāska's explanation of *daṇḍa* is perfectly understandable without requiring that in the *Nir.* passage in question he has used *dhārayati* (= *dadate*) in the sense "owe". Only one point has lead Professor Mehendale to assert that this must have been the meaning intended by Yāska; this is the example *akrūro dadate maṇim.* In the commentary of Skandasvāmin on *Nir.* 2.2 (ed. Sarup, p. 27) the statement is made: *akrūro nāma vṛṣṇyandhakādhipatiḥ| sa dadate dhārayate maṇim mastakena syamantakam nāma.* Akrūra is identified as a king who wore the *syamantaka* jewel on his head (*mastakena*). Similarly, Durga says (p. 134) *sa dadate maṇim syamantakanāmānam śirasā.* Roth (cited in Mehendale 23) notes, "Akrūra trägt (hat) den Edelstein, wird angeführt zum Beweise, dass dad in der Bedeutung halten, tragen vorkomme." It is in reaction to this that Mehendale has suggested that *dadate=dhārayati* in *Nir.* 2.2 must mean "hold in trust, owe". For, as he notes, Akrūra did not wear the jewel on his head.

Two points need to be made here. First, we must take care to read what Yāska actually said without necessarily letting commentatorial remarks determine our interpretation. Leaving aside Skandasvāmin and Durga (the origin of their interpretation of the sentence in question involving a version of the story to be considered separately), then, *akrūro dadate maṇim* is to be interpreted as meaning "Akrūra holds (in his possession) the jewel (*syamantaka*)"; see 1.[22]

The second point I wish to make is that I do not think the Purāṇic evidence supports Mehendale's conclusion. Mehendale makes much of the fact that Akrūra does not actually wear the jewel and with this I agree. With the rest of his argument I cannot agree. Of course the jewel was only entrusted to Akrūra by Śatadhanvan, so that one can say that *dhārayati* with reference to the former can mean not only "holds in his possession" but also "holds in trust". But when Kṛṣṇa says that he is *asamartho dhāraṇe*[23] "unable to hold (keep)" the jewel, *dhṛ* here clearly cannot mean "owe". In

the next sentence containing *dhṛ* (*VP* 4.13.159, see fn. 23), Kṛṣṇa says to Akrūra: *tad bhavān eva dhārayitum samarthaḥ* "You alone are capable of keeping it"; here again "hold, keep" is the only appropriate contextual meaning, not "owe". Similarly, it is said: of the jewel (*VP* 4.13.155[68]): *śucinā . . . dhriyamāṇaṁ aśeṣarāṣṭrasyopakārakam aśucinā dhriyamāṇam ādhāram eva hanti* "Borne (worn) by a pure person, it serves for the benefit of the entire kingdom; borne (worn) by an impure person, it slays the very bearer." That "bear, wear" is the proper contextual meaning of *dhṛ* here is confirmed by *VP* 4.13.29[18]: *tac ca śucinā dhriyamāṇam aśeṣam eva svarṇasravādikam guṇajātam utpādayaty anyathā dhārayantam eva hanti ity ajānann asāv api prasenas tena kaṇṭhāsaktena syamantakenāśvam āruhyāṭavyām mṛgayām agacchat* " And that (jewel), when worn by a pure person produces all manner of good things, such as the flow of gold, otherwise it slays the very bearer; not knowing this, Prasena, with the jewel clung to his throat, mounted a horse and went hunting in the forest." Of course he then met with his death. That the passage speaks of the jewel as clung to the throat clearly indicates that in the preceding passage *dhriyamāṇam* means "worn". Mehendale is of course aware of all this in his excellent exposition of the facts. He states (Mehendale 28): " It is true that in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa itself the verb √*dhāraya* - seems to have been used also in the sense 'to possess'. But it is not intended to suggest here that √*dhṛ* - is never used in Sanskrit in the sense 'to hold', 'to possess', or even 'to wear'. What is intended to make clear is the fact that these meanings are unsuited for the derivation of *daṇḍa*, and that on the basis of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa version, *dhārayati* with reference to Akrūra's possession of the jewel, is best interpreted to mean 'to keep for someone else, to hold in trust, to owe'."

Mehendale's only claim, then, turns out to be that the meaning "hold" is unsuited for deriving *daṇḍa* from *dadate=dhārayati*. But, as I have shown above, the meaning "hold" for the verb in question is semantically perfectly suited for this derivation. One has only to consider the semantic development summarised above.

5. It follows from what has been said that Yāska's derivation of *daṇḍa* does not supply conclusive evidence for his use of *dhārayati* in the meaning "owe". This is not to deny that Yāska may have known such a usage. That Pāṇini provides for the dative to denote a creditor to whom one owes (*dhārayati*) something (see fn. 7 above) does not mean he was necessarily the first to know of such a usage. He merely provides for it by a rule. Such a usage may well have been common before him, just as it is also attested in the Prākrits and in modern Indic.[24]

6. *Summary.* Yāska explains *daṇḍya* "who merits punishment" as derived from *daṇḍa*. In turn, the latter is explained as deriving from a verb *dadate* equivalent to *dhārayati*. The question is how *daṇḍa* meaning "punishment" is semantically relatable to a verb meaning "hold, bear". The question is satisfactorily answered by considering

the semantics of *daṇda* and its usage with the verb *dhṛ*: *daṇḍam dhārayati* means "bears a staff" as a symbol of an office or estate. A ruler bears or wields the staff or rod which is the symbol of his office and then comes to mean the punishment meted out by him. For this last meaning the same expression, *daṇḍam dhārayati*, is used. Once such a semantic relation is established, there is no need to say that Yāska's use of *dadate*= *dhārayati* is an example of the use of the latter verb in the meaning "owe". And Yāska's usage thus offers no support for establishing his posteriority to Pāṇini.

NOTES

[1] Cf. Durga (ĀSS ed. of *Nir.*) p. 134: *daṇḍena vā kārṣāpaṇādinā sampadyate saṃyujyate*; here *daṇḍa* denotes a fine.

[2] There follows an example which need not concern us here.

[3] On the various etymological connections suggested for *daṇḍa* see Mayrhofer, *A Çoncise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. II, pp. 11-12.

[4] Cf. also such synonymous pairs as *vāgdaṇḍa, vāgdama* "reprimand" (see *Dharmakośa* I.1.592). *Amarakośa* (ed. Nārāyaṇ Rām Ācārya, Nirṇayasāgar Press, 1950) after noting the four means (*upāya*) used by a ruler for subjugation (1508 : *bhedo daṇḍaḥ sāma dānam ity upāyacatuṣṭayam*) gives (1509: *sāhasam tu damo daṇḍaḥ*) the terms for physical assault, punishment: *sāhasa, dama, daṇda*.

[5] This first appeared in *JAOS* 80.112-5 (1960); it was subsequently reprinted in the author's *Nirukta Notes, Series I* (Deccan College, 1965), pp. 22-30. References in the author's name.

[6] Mehendale 23. I think he is correct in rejecting "wears" but not in rejecting "has"; see below, 4 with fn. 22.

[7] Pāṇini 1.4.35: *dhāreruttāmarṇaḥ* (*sampradānam* 32) states that a *kāraka* (1.4.23: *kārake*) functioning as creditor (*uttamarṇa*) with respect to the action denoted by *dhṛ*—which thus here means "owe"—is assigned the name (*samjñā*) *sampradāna*, that is, is assigned to that syntactic category. By 2.3.13 (*caturthī sampradāne*) the fourth triplet of nominal endings (*caturthī*, i.e., dative endings) is introduced after a nominal when a *sampradāna* is to be denoted; e.g., *devadattāya śatam dhārayati* "He owes Devadatta one hundred."

[8] Mehendale (23, fn. 5) is in error when he says that Yāska does not cite this verse.

[9] The ĀSS ed. of *Nir.* reads (p. 253) *caturo'kṣān dhārayataḥ*; Sarup's ed. (p. 68) reads *caturaś cid* [*akṣān*] *dhārayataḥ*, with the word denoting dice in brackets.

[10] For further details of interpretations see Durga p. 254, Sāyaṇa on *RV* 1.41.9 and Lüders *Philologica Indica* 160-1, who agrees with these commentators on the major points.

[11] Note that Haradatta, in his *Padamañjarī* on *Kāśikā* 5.1.66 (ed. Dwarikadas Shastri and Kalikaprasad Shukla, vol. IV, p. 70) comments that *daṇḍa* is both a particular *upāya* (*upāyaviśeṣaḥ*, see fn 4 above) and a hand support, that is, a walking stick (*hastālambaś ca*).

[12] This is to be found in the major lexica. The smaller Petersburg lexicon gives *Stock, Stab, Prügel, Keule* as meanings under (a), while *der Stock* als *Symbol der Gewaltthätigkeit, offene Gewalt, thätlicher Angriff* appear under (r) and *der Stock* als *Symbol der richterlichen Gewalt und Strafe, Strafe* appear under (u); these are given under definitions 1, 12 14 in the large Petersburg lexicon. Similarly Monier-Williams and Apte. The *Śabdakalpadruma* and *Vācaspatyam* also list *daṇḍaḥ: laguḍah* first. For the materials used in this paper I am of course indebted to these works as well as to the *Dharmakośa* edited by Laxmanshastri Joshi.

[13] I include this here under the assumption that *daṇḍapāruṣya* was etymologically an assault with a club; it includes any physical assault; for example, Kauṭilya (3.19.2) states a fine of three *paṇa* for one who touches another below the navel with his hand, mud, ashes or dust (*nābher adhaḥkāyam hasta-paṅka-bhasmapāṃsubhir iti spṛśatas tripaṇo daṇḍaḥ*).

[14] Vol. II, p. 1695 of the Hoshiarpur ed. of *AV*: *daṇḍam hastād ity anayā pretabrāhmaṇahastād vedayaṣṭim putro gṛhṇīyāt, dhanur hastād ity anayā pretakṣatriyahastād gṛhṇīyāt.*

[15] E.g., *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* (ed. S. R. Sehgal) 2.6.2: . . . *daṇḍam prayacchati, Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* (Gujarati Printing Press ed.) 2.2.11-12: . . . *daṇḍam prayacchati / tam pratigṛhṇāti* "(The teacher) gives the staff (to the student); he accepts it"; *Kāṭhaka Gṛhya Sūtra* (ed. Caland) 4.1.22: *pālāśam daṇḍam brāhmaṇāya prayacchati* ". . . gives to a Brāhmaṇa a staff of palāśa wood."

[16] *Dhṛ* here of course means both "bear" and "wear".

[17] The actual example in *Bh.* (I. 456.17-8: *api bhavān kamaṇḍalupāṇim chātram adrākṣīt*) is *kamaṇḍalupāṇi* 'who has a *kamaṇḍalu* in his hand", used in an argument centering about the necessity to avoid introducing the instrumental endings in such compounds.

[18] Cf. Mallinātha's comment on *Raghuvaṃśa* 9.3. where *daṇḍadhara* occurs: *daṇḍasya dharo rājā* "The bearer (holder) of the rod (staff) (i.e.,) the king".

[19] Cf. *Mahābhārata* (critical ed.) 1.11.15, where the snake Duṇḍubha, after extolling (1.11.14) nonharming (*ahimsā*), truthfulness (*satyavacana*) and forbearance (*kṣamā*) as the supreme duties of a Brāhmaṇa (*brāhmaṇasya paro dharmah*)—beyond even

the traditional maintaining of the Vedas (*vedānām dhāraṇād api*)—says to Ruru: *kṣatriyasya tu yo dharmah sa neheṣyati vai tava/ daṇḍadhāraṇam.* . . . "But the duty of a kṣatriya is not desirable for you (*viz.*,) the bearing of the rod (administration of justice, infliction of punishment). . . ."

[20] See *Dharmakośa* I. 1, Index, p. 26 *sv. daṇḍa* for the various meanings with references. It will not be out of place here to note that in Greek too *skêptron* had a similar semantic development: stick, staff, sceptre as symbol of an office; see Liddell-Scott-Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon* and H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericon sv.*

[21] In connection with Yāska's explanation of *daṇḍa* and the use of this term in a legal sphere recall that Yāska also discusses (*Nir.* 3.3-3.6) questions of inheritance.

[22] May I note that Mehendale p. 23 is not precise when he says that Sarup follows Roth. Sarup (*Nirukta* translation, reprinted, Delhi, 1967) simply translates, "Akrūra holds the jewel." It is a matter of conjecture whether he meant by this that Akrūra wore the jewel, but Sarup certainly did not render "wears", which is the first translation of Roth's (*trägt*).

[23] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (*VP*) 4.13.156 [69]; the references are to the Bareli edition, the only one available to me at the time I was writıng this paper; within brackets I include references given by Mehendale in his paper on *daṇḍa* (see fn. 5 above) wherever he gives such references.

[24] See R. L. Turner, *JAOS* 81.131 (1961), *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages,* item 6791.

'दण्ड्यः पुरुषः' इति। दण्ड्य इत्येष तद्धितः पुरुषशब्दविशेषणम्। पूर्वं तावत्तद्धितार्थं निर्वक्ष्यति ततः पदार्थं निर्वक्ष्यति। कस्मिंश्चिदपराधे दण्डमर्हतीति दण्ड्यः। दण्डेन वा कार्षापणादिना यः संपद्यते संयुज्यते स दण्ड्यः। अधुना पदार्थनिर्वचनम्। 'दण्डो ददतेः' धारयत्यर्थे वर्तमानस्य। धार्यते ह्येषोऽपराधेषु राजभिः। आह। दृष्टः पुनः क्वचित्-प्रयोगो ददतेर्धारयत्यर्थ इति। उच्यते। दृष्टो वेदे लोके च। वेदे तावत्। विश्वो देवाः पुष्करे त्वाददन्त (ऋ. सं. ७. ३३. ११) इति। तथा लोके 'अक्रूरो ददते मणिम्'। अक्रूरो नाम राजा वृष्ण्यन्धकाधिपतिः। स ददते मणिं स्यमन्तकनामानं शिरसा। लोकेऽप्येवं धारणार्थे ददतिर्भाष्यते। 'दमनात्' दण्डः 'इत्यौपमन्यवः' आचार्यो मन्यते। तेन ह्यदान्तो दम्यते राजभिः। 'तेनादान्तान्दमयेत्' इत्युक्तम् (गौत. धर्म. ११.२८)। लोके हि प्रसिद्धम्। यः कश्चिददान्तो भवति तमधिकृत्य वक्तारो भवन्ति 'दण्डमस्याकर्षत हे सभासदः। तेन संपद्यतामयं ततो दान्तो भविष्यति' इति। एवमयं गर्हायां दृष्टः। एवं च दमनाद्दण्ड इत्यौपमन्यव आचार्यो मन्यते।

दुर्गाचार्यः, निरुक्तम् २. २.

Miscellaneous Notes on Sanskrit Etymology

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1. *oja*-

Classical Sanskrit has a word *oja*- meaning 'odd' of numbers (one, three, five, etc.,) which is quoted from such texts as *RVPrātiśākhya*, *Sūryasiddhānta*, and Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. It is also found not uncommonly in the *Arthaśāstra* (e.g., 2,3,7; 10, 5, 16). Concerning the etymology of this word nothing appears to have been said, and it does not appear in M. Mayerhofer's Etymological Dictionary. The word is to be explained as Prākrit in origin, being derived from Skt. *ayuja*-. This word *ayuja*- in the same sense is also used in Sanskrit and it appears in an earlier stratum of texts, e.g., in Śrautasūtras. The later texts have substituted the Prākritic for the originalā Sanskrit form.

2. *keṇikā*

The word *keṇikā* meaning 'tent' is recorded only on the authority of the Sanskrit lexicographers, notably Hemacandra, but it is nevertheless of considerable interest. This is due to the fact that it bears a striking resemblance to the Greek word for 'tent' namely *skēnē*. As regards the changes in form, the loss of the initials *s*- is to be explained by the fact that it has come into Sanskrit through a Prākrit intermediary. In native words initial *sk*- produces the aspirated initial *kh*-, but this rule need not apply in the case of borrowed words, and in this case the *s*- is simply dropped. The intervocalic cerebral -*ṇ*- is also Prākrit. As regards the final part of the word the IA suffix-*ikā* has been added in adopting this foreign word. It is well known that a number of Greek words gained currency in India, and eventually came to be adopted in Sanskrit as a result of Greek rule in the Punjab and North-Western India under Menander and his successors. Not unnaturally a number of these have to do with military matters, e.g., *khalīna*- 'bridle' and *surungā* 'mine, under- ground passage'. The word *keṇikā* is one of these, and it may well be that along with the word, the tent itself (in proper Sanskrit *paṭakuṭī*) was a Greek innovation.

3. *kākiṇī*

This word, meaning 'a coin of small value', also means 'a cowrie used as a coin', and in looking for its derivation one must start from the second, which is obviously the more original, meaning. This being the case, there are certain Dravidian words which offer themselves for comparison, namely Te. *kāki cippa* 'a bivalve shell', Kol. (Kin.) *kāke* shellfish', Nkṛ. *kāke* 'id.' (DED. 1196), to which DEDS: added Ma. *kakka*

'shell, cockle'. There can be little doubt that there is a connection between the Sanskrit word on the one hand and the Dravidian words on the other, and since the Sanskrit word only appears with the suffix *-inī* the Dravidian words cannot, on this formal ground, be derived from it. Also the Dravidian words only have the original meaning 'shell' as opposed to the developed secondary meaning of the Sanskrit word. This being the case it seems fairly clear that the Sanskrit word is in origin a loanword from Dravidian.

4. *trapusa-*

For *trapusa-* 'the fruit oft the coloquintida and other cucumbers', *trapusī* 'the plant' no etymology has so far been discovered. M. Mayrhofer considers the possibility that it may be of foreign origin. He notes the variant form *tipusa-* in Pali, and he observes that, in contradistinction to the usual *-s-* is not converted to *-ṣ-* after *u-*. The latter fact, since such forms are not uncommon (*mustā, musala-*, etc.,) is probably indicative of dialectal rather than foreign origin, and in this connection it should be borne in mind that in the Kafiri languages, as reported by Morgenstierne, *-s-* is not changed *-ṣ-* after *-u-*. In Sanskrit an alternative form *trapuṣa-* with the regular development is also recorded.

The Sanskrit lexica also record a form *trapu-karkaṭī* in this sense, in which *karkaṭī* 'cucumber' is specified by the prefixed epithet *trapu-* This provides a key to the problem of the etymology of the word *trapusa-*, since there exists in Indo-Iranian and Slavonic an adjectival base *tṛp-* having the meaning 'sharp to the taste, pungent, sour, etc.' For these words see R. L. Turner, *CDIAL*, no. 5930. He constitutes a base *tṛpu-* to be compared with Russ. *terpkiy* 'sharp to the taste, sour' (<**tṛpuku*) and refers also to the Vedic adjective *tṛpra-* which in certain contexts has been considered to have the meaning 'pungent'. In view of this evidence we can sce that in *trapu-karkaṭī* we have another form of this adjective qualifying *karkaṭi* and that from this base *trapu-* the word *trapusa-* is further derived. We have the same variation of grade in the root between Pa. *tipusa-* (<* *tṛpusa-*) and Skt. *tapusa-* as between the two forms of the basic adjective *trapu-* and *tṛpu*.

5. *nāgoda-*

This word meaning 'armour covering the belly' is recorded only by the lexicographers. Beside it there is another form *nāgodara-* which is obviously a secondary modification of *nāgoda-* under the influence of *udara-*. The primary form *nāgoda-* is not capable of a Sanskrit derivation and it looks as if it might be a loanword. A satisfactory explanation can in fact be got from Iranian, assuming an original form **nāfa-gauda-* 'covering or protecting the navel'. The intervocalic *-f-* first becomes *-h-* and then is elided, with resultant contraction of the vowels producing the form *nāgoda-* as it appears in Sanskrit.

It has been observed that the Sanskrit word *vārabāṇa-* 'breastplate' is of Iranian origin (see M. Mayrhofer, *Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary,* s. v.). It is not therefore surprising that another piece of defensive armour should also turn out to be of the same origin.

6. *praśala-*

This word, meaning 'the cold season' is also known only from the lexicographers. The reading is uncertain varying between *praśala-* and *prasala-*. The latter form has been adopted in our modern dictionaries, but the choice can only be made if a reliable etymology can be demonstrated. Such an etymology is available if we read the word *praśala-* with palatal *ś*. The radical part *-śala-* in *praśala-* is to be connected with the well known IE root meaning 'cold' which appears also in Skt. *śiśira-* 'cold' (with reduplication and change of *-l-* to *-r-* as opposed to its preservation in *praśala-*) and in Av. *sarəta-* 'cole', Lith. *saltas* 'cold', *pasalas* 'frozen earth', OPr *passalis* 'frost', etc.

7. *bhukkhāṇa*

The lexicon Śabdaratnākara of Vāmana Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa records a word *bhukkhāṇa-* m. meaning 'horse's feeding bag (*aśvabhastrā*)'. The word has not so far been noted elsewhere, but its currency in South Indian at the time of the composition of this lexicon (c. 1,400) can be assumed on this evidence. A series of words connected with this have been recorded in DED 3650, e.g. Ta. *pokkaṇam* beggar's bag, Ka. *bokkaṇa* pouch, beggar's bag, horse's gram-bag', Te. *bokkena* 'gram-bag, nose-bag.' The Sanskrit word was adopted from this Dravidian source at a late period and was probably only current in South India for only a limited time.

8. *varuḍa-*

Skt. *varuḍa-* 'Name of a low mixed caste (one of the seven low castes called *antyajas* whose occupation is splitting canes)' is a word so far quoted only from late Sanskrit texts. It is quoted only from Kullūka's commentary on Manu 4, 215, and from lexica; the feminine *varuḍī* from a commentary on Yājnavalkya. Presumably because the word is late and rare it does not appear in M. Mayrhofer's Etymological Sanskrit dictionary. However apart from the above information taken from Monier Williams' dictionary the attestation of the word can be considerably extended. An alternative form *vāruṭa-* 'Name of a class of Mlecchas (MW)' is obviously the same word and should be given the same meaning of 'basket-maker'. This form is quoted in Edgerton's BHS dictionary from the Mahāvastu in the sense of 'cane-splitter, mat-maker', and to this we can add another occurrence in Gilgit Manuscripts Ill. 2, 141. These references take the word back to a date considerably earlier than the above. A still earlier reference can be cited from

Vt. i on P. 5, 4, 36 where a vṛddhied form *vāruḍa-* is stated to be formed from *varuḍa-*. Thus the word can be shown to have been current in Sanskrit at least from the time of Kātyāyana (3rd cent. B.C.?) down to the late period, though the fact that it occurs so rarely might suggest that it was current in a rather restricted area. For the rest we may note that Sanskrit has also a late and corrupt form *buruḍa-* that Pkt. *varuḍa-* appears in the Jain canonical literature in the same sense, and that one derivative from the vṛddhied form, Ku. *baruṛī* 'basket-maker' is quoted from modern Indo-Aryan, (CDIAL no. 11562).

The word *varuḍa-* contains a suffixal element -uḍa which is found also in *Garuḍa-*. This latter form has been discussed recently by H. W. Bailey (Adyar Library Bulletin, 31-32 (1968), pp. 8-11). In this article he pointed out that *Garuḍa*, which is, clearly related to *garutmant-* represents original *garuta-*, which has undergone both cerebralising and voicing of the intervocalic *-t-*. The same suffix *-uṭa* < *-uta* occurs also, as he points out in such forms as *harmuṭa-* 'tortoise' and *tarkuṭa-* 'spindle', in these cases without the voicing. Another instance is *lakuṭa-* 'cudgel' <*lakuta-, beside which there is an alternative form *laguḍa-* with Prakritic voicing of both the intervocatic consonants. In the same way *varuḍa- / varuṭa-* has developed from original **varuta-*. This being the case, it is to be expected that, like these other words formed in the same way it will be of IE origin, and not a word borrowed from some substrate language. An IE etymology is in fact readily available since IE has a well attested root ; namely *wer-* 'fasten string, attach etc.' (Pokorny, IEW. p. 1150) appearing in such words as Lith. *veriu, verti* 'thread, string, twine, fasten', Lett. *vert* 'to thread, sew, stitch, plait, braid, twist', Lith. *virve* 'rope', etc. etc, and finally in Skt. *varatrā* 'rope'. The plaiting of baskets comes within the sphere of the meaning of this root, and so the derivation of *varuḍa-* from this IE source can be regarded as straight forward from the point of view of both root and suffix.

In the Manu passage referred to above the word varuḍa- is given in the commentary as a synonym of *veṇa-*, which according to MW means 'a worker in reeds', i.e., basket- maker, mat-maker, etc.' This word is also comparatively rare, and for this reason it also finds no place in Mayrhofer's dictionary. Its etymology is however perfectly clear. It is derived from the root *ve-* 'to weave' with the suffix *na* and the *-n-* has been spontaneously cerebralised, as often happens. From the same root we have *veṇu-* 'bamboo' (also with spontaneous cerebral) and *vetasa-* 'reed'. In other IE languages a variety of words meaning 'willow, withy' are similarly derived: Av. *vaētay-*, Germ. *Weide*, Lith. *vytis*, etc.

9. *vali-*

The etymology of Sanskrit *valī-* 'fold of the skin, wrinkle' is left undecided by Mayrhofer in his etymological dictionary, as is also the question of its connection with the root-*val-* 'to turn round'. The meaning given above is the normal one in Sanskrit,

and the only familiar one, but another meaning, namely 'curve or spiral in an antelope's horn' is attested by the following passage in *Bhāradvāja Śrauta-sūtra* X, 6, 13: *athāsmai trivaliṃ pancavaliṃ vā kṛṣṇaviṣāṇām dakṣiṇāvartām prayacchati*, "Then he gives the sacrificer a horn of a black antelope having three curves or five curves by the right". From the combination of the two meanings of the word *vali-* it is evident that its original meaning was the general one of 'bend, curve fold, spiral', and this accords well with a derivation from the IE root *wel,* turn, revolve, etc.' (Pokorny, IEW, p. 1140 ff,) with which a connection has been suggested. In particular the connection should be noted with Gk. *helix* 'coil, spiral, convolution' since the Greek word representing an original stem *welik-* corresponds very closely to Skt. *vali-* differing only in having acquired an additional suffix -k (*weli-k-*). From the same base Greek also has such forms as *helissō* 'turn round or about, roll, wind', *heligmos* 'winding, convolution', *helikē* 'winding' *helinos* 'vine tendril' (cf. for the form Skt. *valina*-adj.), and so forth. In connection with an animal's horns *helikokeratos* 'with curled horns', and *helixokerōs* 'with crumpled horns' can be quoted. There can be little doubt that in view of the new meaning attested by the Sūtra Sanskrit *vali-* goes with these words.

There is also no objection to connecting Skt. valīka- 'projecting thatch' with these words. The thatch at the end of the roof, being no longer supported, bends down and overhangs, so that a derivation from this base is semantically very suitable.

Another Sanskrit word used in this sense is *nīvra-* (AŚ. 4, 4, 16, where it is misread as *nīpra-*, Kapphiṇābhyudaya I, 30; there is also a variant *nīdhra-* which appears to be palaeographic in origin (cf. further CDIAL, no. 7573.). This can be seen as containing the same root, this time with the common changes of *l* to *r*, with prefix *nī-* *nī-vr-a-*). The meaning here also is 'bent down, bending down'.

Greek *helix* and *helikē* also have the specialised meaning of 'convolution of a spiral shell', and from the same IE root there is OE *weoloc* and Engl. wheek. In the light of these forms we may consider the etymology of Skt. *varāṭa-* 'shell, cowry'. It is now well known that in Sanskrit suffixal *-āṭa* arises by spontaneous retroflection from earlier *-āta*, so that the earlier form of the word must have been * *varāta-*. Since IE *l* is frequently converted to *r* in Sanskrit this *varāta-* could well reprsent * *valāta-*. Such a form would derive naturally and easily from the root in question from which as we have seen words denoting the spirals of sea-shells and the shells themselves have elsewhere been derived.

As regards the verb *valati* itself this has been traditionally connected with the same IE root. The only objection to this derivation is that the word is only attested at a late period in Sanskrit. This] objection has been partly removed by the evidence above that *vali-*, which is recorded much earlier, is to be connected with this IE root.

In addition it should be pointed out that the fact that a word [1] is only recorded late in the literature does not preclude its IE origin. There are other such words not only appearing first in late Sanskrit but also in Middle or even New Indo-Aryan.

10. *vellati*

One would expect a root of the form *vell-* to be a late development, and agree with Mayrhofer that it is probably of MIA origin. Before attempting to decide what this origin is, it should be pointed out that it has two apparently incompatible meanings, on the one hand 'shake, tremble, be agitated', and on the other, 'be curved, curly, bent, twined, etc'. Only the first meaning is in fact given in our dictionaries for the verb itself. The second meaning is given under the form of the past participle passive *vellita-*: 'bent, curved, crooked'. Similarly in Prakrit the verb *vellai* is given the two quite different meanings of 'shake, tremble', and (with prefix *saṃ-*) 'be rolled up'. In view of these differences of meaning it is reasonable to look for more than one origin for the late Sanskrit root *vell-*. For *vell-* in the meaning of 'shake, tremble' a perfectly satisfactory etymology has already been given by L. A. Schwarzschild: that it is derived from *vip-* /*vep-* with the Prakritic suffix -ll- which appears as an enlargement in other Prakrit verbs (see JAOS, 77, 206). The etymology of *vell-* in the other sense, in *samvellai*, is given in the Pāiasaddamahannavo, where *saṃvellai* is equated with Sanskrit *saṃveṣṭate* with which it coincides in meaning. The correctness of this derivation is confirmed by Pali, where a verb *vellati* occurs only in the second of the above senses, and where it alternates with forms in *veṭh-* derived from *veṣṭ-* in such a way as to make it quite clear that these two roots are variants of each other. Thus we have *pativelḷ-* in the sense of 'wrap oneself round' in J. 5, 449:

n' atth' itthīnam piyo nāma appiyo pi na vijjati
dhanattā paṭivellanti latā va dumanissitā

'No one is dear or not dear to women; for the sake of wealth they attach themselves (to a man) as creepers twine themselves round a tree'.

That the root *vell-* here is derived from Skt *veṣṭ-* indicated not only by the identity of meaning, but also by the fact there are variant readings with *veṭh-* showing that the two forms were understood to correspond in ancient times. From the same combination we have *samvelli-*, *samvelliya-* 'that which is wound round the waist, loincloth' (=*samveṣṭita-*).

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[1] Such as Apabhramśa *tūra-* 'cheese', Hi. *āṭā* 'flour' and the like. A good example, not so far noted, can be seen in CDIAL no. 11021, * *lāma-* 'defective': Pa. *lāmaka-* 'inferior, bad', Panj. *lāvā* 'maimed', Sindh. *lāo* 'blunt', etc. Compare the series in Pokorny, IEW, p. 647: Engl. *lame* Germ *lahm*, OSI. *lomiti* 'break', etc.

With the prefix *ā-* we find a similar variation of reading in J 4, 383 between *āveṭhita-* and *āveḷita-*, in which case *āveṭhita-* has been taken into the printed text. In J. 354 the printed text has *āvelitasingiko* 'having twisted horns' and there is a variant *āvellitasingiko* with *-ll-*. Pa. *āveḷa-* 'that which is wound round the head, garland' is likewise derived as the PTS dictionary remarks from *āveṣṭa-*.

For similar developments of the group *-ṣṭ-* compare Pkt. *lelu-* '*clod*' <*leṣṭu-*, and *kochua-* 'jackal' <*kroṣṭṛ-*; for the doubling of the *-l-* in *vellai*, cf. the remarks of L. A. Schwarzschild on such Pkt. forms as *callai* (*loc. cit.*)

अथ निर्वचनम् । तद् येषु पदेषु स्वरसंस्कारौ समर्थौ प्रादेशिकेन विकारेणान्वितौ स्यातां तथा तानि निर्ब्रूयात् । अथानन्वितेऽर्थेऽप्रादेशिके विकारेऽर्थनित्यः परीक्षेत । केनचिद् वृत्तिसामान्येन । अविद्यमाने सामान्येऽप्यक्षरवर्णसामान्यान्निर्ब्रूयात् । न त्वेव न निर्ब्रूयात् । न संस्कारमाद्रियेत । विशयवत्यो हि वृत्तयो भवन्ति । यथार्थं विभक्तीः सन्नमयेत् ।

निरुक्तम् २.१

Language and Ritual

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I am greatly honoured by Dr. Janaki's invitation to inaugurate this series of Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Lectures. There is a note of sadness I have to inject and that is that Dr. Raghavan is not here. He was the person who introduced me in the first place to the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and also to my teacher of Pāṇini, Mr. Sankarasubramania Iyer. It is a pity Dr. Raghavan is not here with his wit and criticism: there would have been a lively discussion afterwards with him; I now hope that there will be a long discussion with all of you or at least with some. I am too young to have known Professor Kuppuswami Sastri, but I feel that he would have been interested in the topic of language and ritual, and I will explain to you why. His interest in Indian Philosophy at first was largely in the earlier period, though he was also interested in Navya Nyāya, as we know from his excellent Primer of Indian Logic. The main problem that is discussed it the earlier phases of Indian philosophy is the relationship between karma and jñāna. When I refer to ritual and language, ritual is the same as the karma that Kuppuswami Sastri was talking about. Language is not the same as jñāna; however, it is the mode of expression for jñāna, and therefore closely related to it. I will not talk about jñāna until I come to the end of this lecture when I hope to throw some new light on that old concept. Professor Kuppuswami Sastri discussed various relationships between jñāna and karma in early Advaita and Mīmāṃsā: the emphasis on karma which you find in the Mīmāmsā, the emphasis on jñāna which you find in the Advaita Vedānta, and also efforts at jñāna-karma-samuccaya which you find in Bhartṛprapañca. The relation between Maṇḍaṇa Miśra and Sureśvara is also closely connected with the problem of jñāna and karma. However, when I try to throw some light upon this topic it is not merely from the point of view of Indian Philosophy, but rather from my own point of view which is helped by Indian philosophers, by Western Philosophers, and by other things that I have happened to come across here and there.

As you know, the Advaita Vedānta's emphasis on jñāna, which is to some extent a reaction against, and to some extent a continuation of the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā or Karma

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[1] Inaugural Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri Commemoration Lecture delivered by Prof. J. F. Staal on 8th March 1980. The text of this lecture was typed from a tape-recording and subsequently corrected by Prof. Staal. It retains the original style of oral presentation.

Mīmāṃsā emphasis on karma, is nothing but a later manifestation of the emphasis on jñāna which you find in the Upaniṣads and which is a reaction against and to some extent a continuation of the emphasis on karma which you find in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Notice that the Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads are all concerned with śabda, "sound" as well as "language", but the Upaniṣadic view is somewhat ambiguous since braham is ineffable and therefore goes beyond śabda.

Now let me formulate one of my main theses briefly. I believe that there is good evidence to postulate that man during most of his existence was engaged in rituals and started to speak only relatively late. This belief may seem to be at variance with several widespread assumptions. The first is a notion dear to most of Western Philosophy, viz., that man is defined by language. In other words, these philosophers believe that you cannot imagine a man unless he speaks, and conversely, that an animal that does not speak cannot be a man. You find this in Aristotle, in many later philosophers, and the assumption underlies much contemporary work in philosophy and linguistics. I do not believe any of this. I believe that there are many things we can do without language. Many of these activities existed in man's early period of development. For instance, you don't need language if you go hunting and you don't need language if you go fishing. There are in fact a large number of activities which are better taught and learnt without language than with language.

It is important, in this context, to distinguish between language and communication. Many animals have highly developed systems of communication, but that does not mean that they have language. Von Frisch studied certain dances of bees for about 20 years and discovered that the bees indicate by their dance the presence of food in a certain direction and at a certain distance. The bees also indicate by their dance in which direction the food can be found, and the further away it is, the slower is their dance. When some bees engage in such a dance, others get the message, which is shown by the fact that they go and get the food.

This shows very clearly that even animals of that relatively low type of organisation—insects, not mammals—communicate. If you like, you may also call this bee dance a ritual, or rather what has been called a form of ritualization. The main point is that there is not such a large gap between animal ritualization and human ritual, while there is on the other hand a very considerable gap between animal systems of communication and human language. When I make such a claim I shall have to specify a little more precisely what I mean by "language." Language is a system of relationship between sound and meaning. It is concerned with what the Sanskrit grammarians and philosophers of language have called śabdārthasambandha. The question is here what kind of sambandha this is. The curious thing about human language is that this relation is a very complex, indirect, and roundabout relationship. It is not a simple or

direct relation between sound and meaning. I think the poet Kālidāsa knew this when he said :

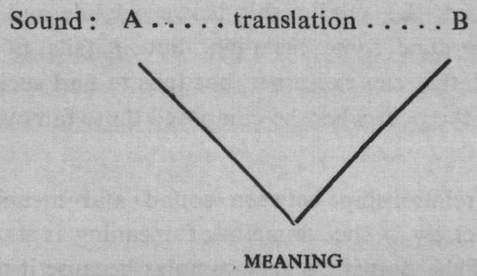
वागर्थाविव संपृक्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये ।
जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥

Śiva and Pārvati are united like sound and meaning. I think Kālidāsa indicated a little bit more. We know that Śiva and Pārvatī are sometime united and sometime not at all united. Śiva was very often meditating in the Himalayas. Pārvatī often tried to draw his attention, but he doesn't pay any attention. I think very much the same thing can be said about the relationship between śabda and artha. Very often sound tries to express or produce some meaning, but it fails to do so. Very often meaning looks for a sound that can express it, but fails to find such a sound. I think all of this was in the mind of the poet when he composed those famous lines.

What then is the relationship between sound and meaning? Let us try to analyze it a little more precisely. The domain of meaning is studied in a branch of learning called semantics. This domain is very complex because it really is the domain of everything that language refers to ; in other words, the world. Therefore everything pertains to the world is also reflected in some part of semantics, and so semantics itself is a vast and complicated system. However, the most interesting thing about semantics is that in some sense it is the same for all people. We all refer to the same world. Of course, there are different parts of the world that we may be familiar with. For instance, you have certain things which you only find in Madras, or only in Mylapore, or only in the Kuppuswami Sastry Research Institute. If you refer to those, you may need special words. But we can refer to these things also by means of other languages, perhaps by using some longer or circumscribing expressions, e.g.. in English, Japanese, or any other language. So, if we consider semantics, we find that it is a complicated subject, but that it is in some sense the same all over the world. On the other hand, if we consider phonology, the branch of learning which deals with the domain of śabda, we find that it is different for each language. This is a very surprising thing that most people have not really paid any attention to. The surprising thing is that there are so many different languages. If you I look at language from a biological, Darwinian, utilitarian, or pragmatic point of view this becomes especially striking. So far, I have not said anything about the purpose of language. I want to leave that open. For example, I wouldn't want to say that the purpose of language is communication. But whatever purpose it is supposed to fulfil, this is certainly fulfilled very badly because instead of having one system of sounds to refer to the system of meanings, you find a different system of sound for every language. And not only a different system of sound, but actually different sounds. From a biological point of view, what is most striking about language is that

there are so many of them, that they are so different from each other, that they are so difficult and time-consuming to learn. Most people in India know several languages. In America, most of us know only one language. Whatever the difference, if you look all over the world there are very many languages, and nobody can have even an approximate knowledge of all those languages.

Fortunately, there is such a thing as translation. If you translate languages into each other what really happens is this. You go from the sound of one language, say A, you arrive at the meaning of that language and then you put that same meaning into a different sound system in another language, say B.



I am not talking about poetic language, or such concepts as lakṣaṇā and vyañjana. I am talking about the most basic level of reference, basic to every use of language and presupposed by all theories of languages such as Dr. Kunjunni Raja has described in his book "Theories of meaning." It is concerned with the primary relationship between sound and meaning. As you see from the above little diagram, that translation means that the meaning is the same but the sound changes.

Why is this so complicated ? It is complicated because the relationship between sound and meaning is not a simple-1 relationship. It could easily be a simple relationship. For example, all the indefinitely many different meanings could be referred to by indefinitely many different sounds. Can there be indefinitely many sounds ? Why not ? We use a relatively small number of sounds but our ear and mouth are capable of very minute distinctions. If you think only of music you realize soon that there could have been many more distinctions. For example, it would be quite possible to enumerate the things that are in this room, the different pieces of furniture, people, hands, legs, parts of their bodies, parts of the furniture, etc., all by means of the same syllable " ta " chanted at a different pitch and for a different length of time. So you see what an enormous amount of differentiation is possible. Why did this not develop in the course of evolution in a unified manner, instead of this monstrosity of all these languages that are so different from each other ? Whatever their purpose, the languages of man are obviously extremely inefficient. Instead, our ear, our mouth and other vocal organs could have

developed in the same way to deal with the same sounds of language, just as our brains, and so many other parts of our body such as our eyes, seem to deal in more or less the same manner with the outside world. But even when people see or hear the same things, they speak about them very differently.

The round about correspondence between meanings and sounds we find in language is called syntax. The most remarkable thing about human languages is its syntax, and this is what differentiates human languages very clearly from animal systems of communication. The latter have a syntax also, but it is different. One typical characteristic of the syntax of human languages is that it comprises a mechanism that enables you to develop indefinitely many expressions with the help of a relatively small number of elements. This is due to a property which is called recursiveness. This is a difficult concept and so I will explain a little bit carefully. In Western culture, this notion of recursiveness was discovered by mathematicians, because it lies at the basis of counting. But in Indian culture, not surprisingly, it was discovered by the Sanskrit grammarians. Patañjali has expressed very clearly what is the issue here. In the introduction to his Mahābhāṣya he considers the problem of how language can be explained, taught and learned. The first suggestion is that it might be done by enumeration (saṃkhyā). But then Patañjali says:

नेत्याह । अनभ्युपाय एष शब्दानां प्रतिपत्तौ प्रतिपदपाठः । एवं हि श्रूयते–"बृहस्पतिरिन्द्राय दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रं प्रतिपदोक्तानां शब्दानां शब्दपारायणं प्रोवाच नान्तं जगाम । बृहस्पतिश्च प्रवक्ता इन्द्रश्चाध्येता दिव्यं वर्षसहस्रमध्ययनकालो न चान्तं जगाम किं पुनरद्यत्वे यः सर्वथा चिरं जीवति स वर्षशतं जीवति ॥ . . . कथं तर्हीमे शब्दाः प्रतिपत्तव्याः ? किञ्चित् सामान्यविशेषवल्लक्षणं प्रवर्त्यम् । येनाल्पेन यत्नेन महतो महतः शब्दौघान् प्रतिपद्येरन् ॥

This is exactly the notion of recursiveness. You find the same notion in Western mathematics when the notion of infinity is introduced, and in modern linguistics in certain grammatical rules. I shall give you one example of such a recursive rule which would have pleased Patañjali if he had known it. In this rule an arrow is used, which means that you replace what occurs to the left of the arrow (viz., *a*) by what occurs to its right (viz., *ab*).

a —> ab

Such a rule is called recursive because the '*a*' which occurs on the left *recurs* on the right. Since the same symbol occurs on the left and the right, you can apply the rule again to the right, etc. In other words, you can derive :

a —> abb
abb —> abbb
abbb —> abbbb, etc.

The result is an '*a*' followed by as many '*b*'s as you like. Such rules are the bread and butter of modern linguistics, and are basic to the notion of syntax. As far as we know, animal systems of communications do not have such rules which therefore are a distinctive mark of human languages.

I shall now give you a simple example from English of such a recursive rule. You know there are rackets. I think you have one which is called Bhāskara. You can construct anti-rackets to get rid of rackets, and anti-anti-rackets to get rid of anti-anti-rackets, etc. All of this can be produced with the help of a very simple recursive rule :

racket —> anti-racket

Re-apply it to its right, and you obtain the required results. This is exactly what Patañjali had in mind.

Now Patañjali said something more, which is significant in our present context.

अप्रयुक्ते दीर्घसत्रवत् । यद्यप्यप्रयुक्तास्तथाप्यवश्यं दीर्घसत्रवल्लक्षणेनानुविधेयाः ॥

When he talks about the infinity of language, Patañjali says : *sattravat* " it is just like the sattras." As you know, sattras were rituals which were indefinitely long. So according to Patañjali, the infinity of language is similar to the infinity of sattras ; both cannot be explained by enumeration, but can only be explained by lakṣaṇam or sūtras. Now let us look at rituals. Before talking about the structure and syntax of rituals, let me say something about their meaning and semantics. This topic has been taken up by the śrauta sūtras and also by the Mīmāṃsā. The Kātyāyana Śrauta Sūtra gives a kind of definition of ritual. Ritual, it says, is concerned with three things : *dravya, devatā,* and *tyāga. Dravya* is the substance of the oblation that is offered ; *devatā* is the deity to which it is offered, and *tyāga* is a formula which the yajamāna pronounces as the moment that the *dravya* is offered to the deity, i.e., at the moment the oblation is thrown into the fire. For example, if the *devatā* is Agni, then the yajamāna says, *agnaye idaṃ na mama* " this is for Agni, not for me." If the *devatā* is Prajāpati, he says : " *prajāpataye īdaṃ na mama* ", " this is for Prajāpati, not for me ". Such a formula is called *tyāga.* It is clear, I think, that Kātyāyana's characterization could not possibly be a definition of ritual, because when I select a *devatā,* whoever it is, and a *dravya,* for example this watch, and I give it to that *devatā* in whatever way I want, and then pronounce a *tyāga,* it is not really a ritual. It becomes a ritual when it is also prescribed by rules, by sūtras which you find in the Śrauta sūtras. It has moreover to be performed by a person who is eligible to perform it or for him or on his behalf by priests who are eligible. All of this is very much part and parcel of whatever definition of ritual we might eventually come up with. That is why I am not very happy with Kātyāyana's definition.

In the Mīmāṃsā, you find the following stock example: *agniṣṭomena svargakāmo yajeta*, "he who desires heaven shall perform with the Agniṣṭoma". But in a different context you find that Agniṣṭoma is called a *Nityakarma*, i.e., an obligatory ritual. Now it is inconsistent to say that something is there only for people who desire something, and say that it is also *nitya*, because *nitya* means that everybody should perform it. Whether the performer really desires heaven is a different question.

There are some other problems. You are familiar with the notion of *apūrva*. This is a postulate, because when the ritual is performed the result or *phala* is not seen. The *yajamāna* does not go up to heaven. On the contrary, he goes home and he continues to perform the *agnihotra* in the morning and in the evening for the rest of his life, or until something else happens. The text says: "he goes home and he is the same as he was before."

It is difficult to see how this is consistent with the earlier notion expressed by the term of *tyāga*. If you interpret *tyāga* in the sense in which it was interpreted in the Bhagavad Gītā, viz., as *karmaphalatyāga*, there is a problem. For if you have given up the fruit, viz., heaven, then what is the point of introducing *apūrva*? I think, therefore, that there are a number of difficulties in these definitions of ritual, if they are definitions of ritual at all.

Western scholars do not fare much better in their attempts to define ritual. I shall briefly relate a few of their characterisations or definitions. One is that a ritual is a reflection of myth so that rites and myths always go together. It is true that you sometimes find in the Brāhmaṇas attempts to relate rites to myth. But there are a number of rites—for instance, the building of the Agnicayana out of a thousand bricks—which do not directly reflect any myth. The connection that is made between rites and myth is often artificial. Also, different connections are sometimes suggested in the same Brāhmaṇa, or in different Brāhmaṇas. I believe that the connection between rites and myths which some Western scholars have postulated and for which there is *some* evidence in the Brāhmaṇas has to be simply rejected for lack of sufficient evidence. If you study the matter carefully you will find that this whole notion evolved in the nineteenth century. The Babylonians had a ritual that they performed at new year, and during that time they also recited the hymn of creation from the Babylonian sacred books, and so people thought that there was a connection between the myth and the ritual. It may very well have existed in this particular case, but it may not generally exist. All I know is that for many Vedic rites no one knows any corresponding myth.

The notion that ritual is a transition from the profane to the sacred, which is also current, seems to be rather empty, and I shall not spend time on it. I think it can be safely rejected, just like some psychological characterizations, which are not based upon any knowledge of ritual.

I now propose to show you something of the structure of ritual, and this is a bit complicated. All I have to say is based upon the study of Vedic ritual. Vedic ritual is characterised by a hierarchy of rituals. I will select out of that hierarchy just four. The first is Darśapūrṇamāsa, the second Paśubandha, the third Agniṣṭoma and the fourth Agnicayana. The Darśapūrṇamāsa is performed twice a month. It is being studied now by Mr. Arnold under the aegis of Sri Agnihotram Thathacharya. So I don't say anything about it. However, it consists of rites, and so I shall write it as a sequence of rites:

$$D \rightarrow d_1 \ldots, d_n$$

As you notice, I have introduced a bit of terminology. I use capital letters for rituals such as Darśapūrṇamāsa, Paśubandha, Agniṣṭoma, etc. Rituals consist of smaller elements and these elements are called rites, which I refer to by means of small letters. Rites pertain to firewood (*samidh*), putting the firewood on the fire, making the oblation, the oblation, chanting this, reciting that, etc. Sometimes rites follow each other, sometimes they overlap. However, I shall always write a ritual as a sequence of rites, using small letters. I have assumed there are *n* rites in the Darśapūrṇamāsa—there may, for example, be 120. In the sattras there are many more rites, perhaps indefinitely many.

I mentioned that the rituals constitute a hierarchy. Each next ritual presupposes the previous one. Also, somebody is eligible to perform one of these only if he has already performed the earlier one. You cannot perform the Agniṣṭoma if you have not performed the Darśapūrṇamāsa.

Now consider the Paśubandha. I shall refer to it as *P*, and it consists of rites p_1, p_2, . . . etc. However, it also includes so-called iṣṭi-rites. The paradigm of the iṣṭi rites is the Darśapūrṇamāsa. In other words, performances or simplified performances of the Darśapūrṇamāsa are included in the Paśubandha. I can write, for example :

$$P \rightarrow p_1 \; D \; p_2 \; D \; p_3 \;\; p_4$$

(I am only paying attention to the structure, not to the exact number of these rites.)

Similarly, the Agniṣṭoma consists of rites that I refer to as a_1, a_2, . . ., together with performances or abbreviated performances of both D and P, for example :

$$A \rightarrow a_1 \; a_2 \; D \; a_3 \; P \; a_4 \; D \; a_5 \; a_6$$

In the expression, P may be replaced by the earlier expression. The general property of these expressions is that the lower rituals of the hierarchy are embedded in the higher ones.

Now we come to a second characteristic of these rituals structures. Whenever you embed one of these rituals into a higher ritual, you have, to change it a little. I give one example. In the basic Darśapūrṇamāsa. when you put the pieces of firewood into the fire, you have to recite the *sāmidhenī* verses from the Ṛgveda ; the number of these verses is fifteen. If you embed this *iṣṭi* into this Agniṣṭoma then sometimes you have to increase the number of *sāmidhenī* here; one is *embedding* and the other is *modification.*

Now let us leave ritual and go back to syntax, Sanskrit as well as English. Take a simple example from Sanskrit. Consider two sentences:

rāmo gacchati, "Rāma goes" (1)

rāmaṃ paśyāmi, "I see Rāma." (2)

The first can be embedded in the second:

rāmaṃ gacchantaṃ paśyāmi, "I see Rāma going," (3)

or the second in the first:

rāmo mayā dṛśyamāno gacchati, "That Rāma who is seen by me, goes." (4)

You will note here that, just as in the ritual, something that is *embedded* has to be *modified.* The same two principles are at work. The same complexity that characterizes ritual also characterizes syntax. Moreover, though the rules are not the same, these structures occur in both Sanskrit and English.

Why these complexities? Why, for example, do you have to use the Passive when you embed (2) in (1)? And also, why is the formation of the Passive so complicated? Since Passivization means that subject and object are interchanged, it could be done in a much simpler manner. For example, in algebra, Ryx could be the passive of Rxy.

Notice that the rules which operate here are sometimes recursive rules. The participle *gacchantam* is like an adjective or subordinate clause, and I can attach as many of these as I like. I can talk about that Rāma whom I am seeing, who is walking with his hat on, who has forgotten his stick, who was here yesterday, the beautiful one, with his wife, you can add as much as you like. There is no upper limit to it. That is to say, it is typically recursive, just like the ritual, which is also recursive, because you can embed as many iṣṭi rites into the later rituals as you want. This is how sattras are constructed. The sattras are constructed by taking more iṣṭi-rites, more Paśubandhas, things like Agniṣṭoma, adding them to each other, and making larger and larger structures by the same recursiveness.

So far we have considered similarities between ritual and syntax. There are also dissimilarities. One difference between the two is, that while a ritual may take days or months or years to perform, such embeddings and modifications in syntax take only a few minutes or seconds. At this point animal ritualization comes in usefully. There are certain ritual-movements that animals go through and that seem to be quite irregular and random. However, if films are made of the movements, and you increase or decrease the speed, sometimes considerably, you see a clear structure or pattern emerge. In other words, in order to study structure, you may have to abstract from the time pace. This may also be expected to apply to the structure of language and of ritual.

What conclusion emerges from this? There is no large scale similarity between language and ritual. But there is a certain similarity between ritual structure and the syntax of language. If everything else also had a similar structure, then, of course, it would not be very interesting. You have to show that only syntax and ritual have this structure. You have also to show that this structure pertains not only to Vedic ritual but also to other rituals. You have to do a great many things that have not been done. But if you have done that and you are satisfied that there is such a similarity you have to explain it and you can explain it, again, in many ways. You can either say both ritual and language have a common origin, or ritual comes from syntax, or syntax comes from ritual. If they have a common origin, the question is what that origin is. You can say the structure of the human mind or something like that, but that is pretty vague and unless it becomes precise, it is not very helpful. And so we have to choose at the moment between the other two: either ritual comes from syntax or syntax comes from ritual. Now the general feeling about these things might be, especially among people who have not heard me talk about it about half an hour ago, that since people already speak a language and they have a structure of that language in their mind, when they perform rituals, they naturally perform a ritual which is in accordance with these structures which they have already in their mind. But as you will predict from what I have said before, I believe it is the other way about. I think that the syntax of natural languages, which is the most curious part of natural languages (for phonology and semantics have to be there for it to be a language because language is a relationship between meaning and sound) can only be explained from ritual. So ritual is the source for syntax.

What conclusions can be drawn from this hypothesis? If I wanted to extend it to the study of the interpretation of ritual, I would say two things about it. They pertain in fact not only to ritual, but to religion in general. First of all, a very interesting feature of the use of language in ritual is that it consists of things that are often meaningless. In Indian rituals you recite or chant mantras. In the case of chanting Sāmaveda there are many *stobhas*. Now *stobhas* are generally meaningless.

In the case of mantras there is a meaning, or at least there was a meaning that the mantras originally had. There has been some controversy about it. The ancient ritualist Kautsa, much criticized in the Mīmāṃsā and the Nirukta, said: *anarthakā mantrāḥ* "the mantras are meaningless". What he meant is this: Not that the mantras are by themselves meaningless, because they come from the Vedas and meaning can be attached to them, but that the mantras as used in the ritual are meaningless. That is to say that the meaning of the mantra is not part of the ritual it is concerned with; its ritual meaning is *viniyoga.* That is to say, the practising ritualist has to know when to recite the mantra, and how to recite it. Philosophers may not agree with this, but all ritualists agree with it. If you ask them what do you do with this mantra, they say this is the one we recited on such an occasion, and this is how we recited it. If you ask them what is the meaning? they say, I don't know, that is a different matter, you go to your philosophers or theologians. So there is something particular about the use of language in ritual. That is why I feel that the ritual use of language goes back to a prelinguistic state in which rituals were already performed and songs were already sung, but there were no meanings attached to them. In fact, language came much later.

My final remark is about the concept of *jñāna* briefly mentioned at the beginning of my talk when I referred to the work of Kuppuswami Sastri and the relationship between *artha* and *jñāna.* As you know, one of the most characteristic doctrines of the Upaniṣads is that Brahman is *anirvacanīya.* You don't find that term in the Upaniṣads but you find in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad expressions such as: *yato vāco nivartante* "(that) from which words return." There are many similar expressions which say that Brahman is beyond words. This is of course paradoxical: to say that it cannot be said. But that is not the point I wish to make. The point is that Brahman goes back to a point that is before words, i.e., to a prelinguistic state of development. Ritual belongs to that same domain. Therefore ritual and meaningless mantras may have religious significance, which is however different from the ordinary linguistic meanings that philosophers are generally looking for. The reason is simple: language came later than ritual or mantras. Thank you.

Words are certainly our most important instruments of expression, our most characteristic, universal, and enviable tools in the conduct of life. Speech is the mark of humanity. It is the normal terminus of thought. We are apt to be so impressed with its symbolistic mission that we regard it as the only important expressive act, and assume that all other activity must be practical in an animalian way, or else irrational—playful, or atavistic (residual) past recognition, or mistaken, i e., unsuccessful. But in fact, speech is the natural outsome of only one kind of symbolic process. There are transformations of experience in the human mind that have quite different overt endings. They end in acts that are neither practical nor communicative, though they may be both effective and communal ; I mean the actions we call ritual.

Human life is shot through and through with ritual, as it is also with animalian practices. It is an intricate fabric of reason and rite, of knowledge and religion, prose and poetry, fact and dream. Just as the results of that primitive process of mental digestion, verbal symbolism, may be used for the satisfaction of other needs than symbolization, so all other instinctive acts may serve the expressive function. Eating, travelling, asking or answering questions, construction, destruction, prostitution—any or all such activities may enter into rites ; yet rites in themselves are not practical, but expressive. Ritual, like art, is essentially the active termination of a symbolic transformation of experience. It is born in the cortex, not in the " old brain " ; but it is born of an elementary need of that organ, once the organ has grown to human estate.

—Susanne K. Langer's ' Philosophy in a New Key ' February, 1948, Page 36.

Mountains and Suns

(*Mystical Illumination in the Epic*)

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It has long been a commonplace that European thought has no exact equivalent to *dharma* and Indian thought none to "religion", despite the frequency with which one term is made to do duty for the other. It seems to me that a similarly mismatched pair is that of Yoga and mysticism; the terms may overlap but they do not coincide. Indeed, Sanskrit has no standard equivalent for the term "mysticism": a term such as *gūḍhatva* "hiddenness" is rare and anyway has rather different connotations, while a term such as *kaivalya*, which shares certain features, also has specific aspects of meaning, derived from Sāṅkhya and Yoga, which rule out its use in the sense of "mysticism". However, it may be argued that all of Hinduism is mystical in that it deals with what cannot be communicated directly to others but must be discovered by turning inwards, by discovering eternity within oneself.

I intend in this paper to explore some aspects of this divergence of meaning by looking briefly at Yoga in the epics and more particularly at two descriptions of experiences which appear to have mystical connotations in other cultures and to occur more widely than just in Yoga contexts. It is possible to distinguish three components of mysticism: a direct experience of communion with ultimate reality, a theological or metaphysical doctrine based on that experience, and the mystical path designed to lead to its realisation.[1] The problem with the epics is that, if we equate the third component with the various Yoga techniques, we have almost a superabundance of evidence, alongside a relative paucity of the first two elements. Indeed to list and comment, however briefly, on the passages on Yoga, particularly in the Mokṣadharmaparvan, would take more time than we have available. To put it simply—probably over-simply—in the epics Yogic techniques do not necessarily imply mystical attitudes.

It is not unreasonable to say that the Rāmāyaṇa is lacking in any real mystical content. Granted there are a number of passages where the various types of self-discipline that we associate with Yoga are mentioned. Yet such practices are generally devoted to more or less practical ends or, if followed by ascetics as individuals or in groups, the overall aim is at the most casually alluded to and certainly not given any careful treatment. The goal of such asceticism is given in the earlier books as the winning of heaven or the world of Brahmā. In the Bāla and Uttara kāṇḍas, however, austerities are used to extract concessions from the gods or to compel them in various ways; there are also a few references to the use of Yoga techniques to achieve clairvoyance. Nevertheless, there is no detailed description of the goal or of the actual techniques.[2]

One is tempted to claim that, if one excluded the Bhagavadgītā and the Mokṣadharmaparvan, the Mahābhārata would be in the same case as the Rāmāyaṇa in its lack of interest in mysticism. While there is a measure of truth in this, for after all the concerns of both epics were not originally religious, let alone mystical, there are significant exceptions—most notably the *Sanatsujātīya* (Mbh. 5. 42-5) and the *Anugītā* (Mbh. 14. 16-50).

During the negotiations preceding the battle, Dhṛtarāṣṭra is unable to sleep and is instructed first by Vidura and then by Sanatsujāta, mentally summoned to continue Dhṛtarāṣṭra's consolation. Sanatsujāta is one of the rather shadowy purāṇic group of four divine youths (*Kumāra*), to which Sanatkumāra, the expounder of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* 7, also belongs. Incidentally, Sanatkumāra occurs in the Mahābhārata itself in the rather curious passage called the *Vṛtragītā* (Mbh. 12. 270-1); this is basically a discussion between Bhīṣma and Yudhiṣṭhira on the law of *karma*, into which Bhīṣma introduces Uśanas' discourse with Vṛtra, with Sanatkumāra's intervention, in which he propounds the doctrine that souls have different colours—six are enumerated, corresponding to the Jain *leśyās*—in accordance with their stages of spiritual development.[3]

From the considerable textual corruption that it has suffered it seems that the *Sanatsujātīya* was probably popular early on and therefore subjected to reinterpretations. Its core seems to lie in the *triṣṭubh* verses at the beginning, in which the problem of death is discussed. Its central tenet, presented as an insight (*jñāna*), is that there is really no death, comparable to the way in which the Bhagavadgītā begins by declaring that there is no killing or being killed. As Sanatsujāta so succinctly puts it :

> The death that the seers believe in is *folly*.
> I say to you distraction is death :
> To be never distraught is to live forever.[4]

In the next stanza, such immortality is designated by the term *brahmabhūta* " become Brahman " familiar also in the Bhagavadgītā (5.24d, 6.27d and 18.54a).[5] Indeed, there is one verbal identity between the *Sanatsujātīya* and the Bhagavadgītā—the verse likening the Vedas to a well when there is a flood (Mbh. 5.45.23 and BhG. 2.46). This occurs in the final chapter of the *Sanatsujātīya* which forms a kind of mystical hymn on the manifestations of the supreme, where many of the verses end with the refrain : " The Yogins behold him, the eternal blessed one " *yoginas taṃ prapaśyanti bhagavantaṃ sanātanam*, 5.45.1 ef, etc.). The first verse of this chapter is worth quoting : " That indeed the gods adore which is the luminous (*śukra*), the great burning light, the great glory, from which the sun shines forth—the Yogins. . . ". After speaking of the *puruṣa* the size of a thumb hidden in the heart, it ends with a pantheistic declaration of identity :

"I am; I am mother, father and son; I am the *ātman* of all that exists or does not exist" (5.45.25). A similarity to Kṛṣṇa's theophany is not too hard to see nor the overall similarity of message to that of the Bhagavadgītā.[6]

So too, in the dialogue of the brāhman and the butcher which forms one of the many digressions in the Āraṇyakaparvan (Mbh. 3. 198-206), the butcher necessarily starts with the problem of killing, emphasising the hereditary nature of his occupation, which leaves him no option, just as Arjuna's situation dictates that he should fight; he also rather pointedly includes a comment on the slaughter of animals for sacrifice (3.199.9). He then moves on to the eternality of the *ātman* and how it is reborn (3.200.25-50). After an exposition of the Sāṅkhya categories and the role of the *prāṇas*, the butcher reaches the heart of his message, having first in passing alluded to the goal as becoming Brahman (*brahmabhūta*, 3.202.14c):

> The elemental soul, which is thus in all creatures, is not manifest; those who have insight perceive it with a superior, subtle spirit. By means of the serenity of his spirit the sage destroys the good and bad consequences of previous deeds, and, when he serenely abides in his soul, attains to infinite bliss. The sign of serenity is that one always sleeps comfortably and contentedly; lighted up with good health, one gives off light, like a lamp in a windless spot. If one yokes the mind in the early and late night, eats lightly, and is pure of soul, he sees the soul within himself. As though with a lighted lamp he sees, with the lamp of his mind, that the soul is separate from himself, and then he is released.[7]

By contrast, the *Anugītā*, though introduced as a recapitulation of the Bhagavadgītā on the pretext that Arjuna has forgotten it all (Mbh. 14.16.6), is nevertheless laid out on a rather different, more traditionalist pattern with Kṛṣṇa too being instructed by a brāhman and humbly asking him questions. There is very little of the mystical element despite the strong emphasis on the performance of austerities. In the final chapter, for instance, Brahmā discourses on the process of creation according to the Sāṅkhya scheme and emphasises the efficacy of *tapas* in wiping out all sins. He then goes on to say: "By pure *dhyānayoga* noble ones free from possessiveness and egoism obtain the great further world" and "Approaching through *dhyānayoga*, free from possessiveness and egoism, they enter here the unmanifest, the great world yonder" (Mbh. 14.50.22—24).

Elsewhere in the Mahābhārata, *tapas* and other Yoga practices are simply efficacious methods to achieve various mundane ends; they produce power—power which can be manipulated and used to force one's will on others. Let me give a few examples. In the Ādiparvan, Nārada relates how the Daitya brothers Sunda and Upasunda adopt extreme ascetic practices and the gods are unable to shake their steadfastness, so that eventually they gain from Pitāmaha not the immortality they request but inviolability

from all but each other (I.201.1-24). In the Karṇaparvan, Duryodhana narrates how the Daityas Tārākṣa, Kamalākṣa and Vidyunmālin, after being worsted by the gods, resort to asceticism and adopt the most extreme observance, thereby gaining a boon from Brahmā, the founding of the triple cities (8.24.1-12). In the Śalyaparvan we find the well-known story of Viśvāmitra's penances to obtain brāhman status (9.40.22-9)—again the use of asceticism for a mundane end, though here a religiously respectable one.

Even the term *ekāgramanas* "having concentrated minds" is used not only of Yogic discipline proper but also more or less as a general term of commendation. Thus, the Kurus as they march out against the Pāṇḍavas are Veda-knowing heroes, all having well performed their vows and all having concentrated minds (5.197.3-4). During the course of the battle also they are so described (6.53.3). Kṛpa in mourning for the slain refers to himself thus as he asks where he can find sleep and happiness (10.4.29). Only in the Śāntiparvan does it have the Yogic connotation. Here one-pointedness of the mind is linked with breath-control (12.294.8, cf. 304.9). Here too there is the graphic picture of the man of concentration as one who could carry a full vessel of oil up a istaircase while menaced by men armed with swords without spilling a drop (12.304.22-3); en this dramatic form the yogin is called *ekāgramanas,* but in the more subdued version arlier which lacks the armed men he is simply *yuktamānasa* (12.289.32). Sages are described as restrained and having concentrated minds near the beginning of the *Nārāyaṇīya* (12.322.29, cf. 323.32). This is in part at least why the followers of Nārāyaṇa are called *ekāntins,* those who have made him their sole end.

In fact, the Śāntiparvan contains within the Mokṣadharmaparvan a variety of different approaches to religious and mystical experience, which is in itself of considerable interest. At times these make more or less clearly a distinction between the higher and lower ends for which Yoga may be employed. For instance, V. M. Bedekar has drawn our attention to an interesting chapter narrating the invocation of a cloud, Kuṇḍadhāra, as a deity by a brāhman fed up with the lack of attention to his prayers for wealth from the established gods (12.263).[8] Thus far the satire on the common psychology of worshippers seeking mundane ends and on the trappings of orthodox religion is obvious. However, the interesting twist is that the cloud, genuinely concerned for his worshipper (unlike the usual gods surfeited with attentions), at the point where the devotee's penances have reached the stage of achieving his desires, disillusions him about them and impresses on him the doctrine of supreme desirelessness or detachment (12.263.44-8). The brāhman then reaches the supreme state through Yoga. Although the choice of deity is unusual (but compare Aristophane's *Clouds*), the overall aim of the passage is adapted to the general tenor of the Mokṣadharma philosophy—the ultimate renunciation of desire. A brāhman devotee with common urges, who had been supplicating to achieve worldly ends, is thus transformed into an ideal aspirant seeking final emancipation.

The deliberate contrasting of different approaches is perhaps often thought to be just the opposition between Sāṅkhya and Yoga, which is not however always well developed in the Mokṣadharmaparvan. In reality it is more basic than that. An instructive example is the *Jāpakopākhyāna* (12.189-93) which deals with the importance of *japa* (murmuring of Vedic verses) and the *jāpaka.*[9] In response to a series of questions from Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīṣma declares that *japa* constitutes an independent discipline and way of life belonging to the Vedic sacrificial tradition and different from Sāṅkhya and Yoga. Sāṅkhya and Yoga sometimes make use of *japa* but it is not an indispensable practice with them. *Japa* accomplished through the recitation of Vedic texts constitutes by itself a discipline leading to peace and tranquillity which is experienced as a result of abiding in Brahman (189.7). The following observances are required even for one who wants to lead the life of a *jāpaka*: concentration of the mind, control of the senses, truth, worship of the fire, moderation in food, withdrawal from the objects of sense, tranquillity and so on. Such are the observances for a householder (189.8-10), but a *jāpaka* can renounce society and attain to the highest stage of self-realisation which the follower of Yoga reaches. For that he should renounce all ritual acts: he should sit on a raised seat of *kuśa* grass, with *kuśa* in hand; and he should take leave of the objects of sense and not think of them (189.11-13). He should take to the threefold path of concentration - concentration on gross objects, on subtle objects and without object. Poised in this state he mutters a wholesome Vedic text (*japan vai saṃhitāṃ hitām*, 189 14b, cf 192.6b, 78d, 118a) and meditates on Brahman. On the strength of this *japa*, he can pass into meditation (*dhyāna*) which finally leads him to *samādhi*, during the last stage of which even the *dhyāna* is abandoned; in this last stage he attains to the *ātman*, immortal and pure, rejecting any wish to achieve the body of Brahman (*brāhmī tanu/brahmakāya*, 189.14-21).

While describing the importance of *japa* and the *jāpaka*, Bhīṣma tries to impress on Yudhiṣṭhira that a *jāpaka* practising *japa* with a true selfless spirit is equal to a yogin in the matter of fruit or achievement. To illustrate his point, Bhīṣma narrates the story of the great *jāpaka* Kauśika Paippalādi (12.192-3). This Kauśika lived at the foot of the Himālayas, practising *japa* for its own sake alone and proving impervious to the temptations of heavenly worlds and heavenly pleasures held out to him by Sāvitrī herself, the mother of the Vedas (192.2-17). Subsequently Kauśika causes king Ikṣvāku to share in the fruit of his *japa*. As a result of its fruition, both Kauśika and Ikṣvāku are greeted by the gods and other inhabitants of heaven. They are also described as practising the successive stages of Yoga, withdrawal from the objects of sense, control of the breaths, and concentration of mind, until finally they pass into a trance in which they achieve self-realisation (193.15-18). Then at last a glowing flame breaks forth from Kauśika's palate, in the shape of a manikin (*puruṣa*) measuring a hand-span, to be greeted by Pitāmaha with the pronouncement: "Undoubtedly there is equality of fruit for *jāpakas* and yogins" (193 19-22). This *puruṣa* of Kauśika then enters Pitāmaha's mouth and Ikṣvāku similarly enters into communion with Pitāmaha (193.24-5).

The *japa* here described appears to belong to that strand of Vedic tradition, the orthodox sacrificial ritualism, represented in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, which attached magical-mystical significance to *mantras* and their recitation. From the laudatory description of the *jāpaka* with which the passage concludes, one cannot resist the impression that the champions of the ritualistic tradition are trying to meet the challenge from Yoga by boosting *japa* as its rival and by incorporating into the *japa* discipline various elements associated with Yoga. This *japa* technique may even be the ancient counterpart of some later tāntric practices which put a premium on the recitation of *mantras* as a means of attaining liberation. Another point to note, which is my main reason for dealing with this passage at some length, is that, although the goal is described in figurative terms, the description definitely suggests mystical experience—gained however by a different route from Yoga, which is nonetheless incorporated.

So too, the *Vārṣṇeyādhyātma* (12.203-10), a dialogue between an anonymous pupil and teacher, though incorporating elements of an early form of Sāṅkhya, operates in a basically theistic framework. To the pupil's initial question about where they both had come from, the teacher replies that Vāsudeva is everything and that he causes the emanation and dissolution of the universe, being the unmanifest, eternal Brahman (12.203.7-9). After indicating the usefulness of Yoga techniques, the dialogue then emphasises the role of intuition in being freed from the mortal world and becoming Brahman (*brahmabhūta*) which is going to the blessed, unborn, divine Viṣṇu, who is called the unmanifest (12.210.28-30).

Rather than attempt an exhaustive analysis of the passages on Sāṅkhya or Yoga in the Mahābhārata, I should like to concentrate on two themes which seem to offer a chance of distinguishing the truly mystical from the more mundane applications of Yoga techniqnes. One is the description of the experience, or the goal, as that of one standing on a mountain-top. The other is the description of the goal in terms of a luminous sensation, the presence of experience as it were of a great fire or the sun. Zaehner has drawn attention to the first of these in an interesting but cursory paper on the concept of, as he translates it, "standing on the peak" (*kūṭastha*) in which he points out similarities in the language of the Victorines.[10] In fact, surely, the notion of the mountain-top experience is wide-spread in very different religious traditions. However, there may also be less elevated aspects here, for a mountain top is indicated as an appropriate location for the practice of Yoga: "The controlled ascetic should make his practice of Yoga at the three times; he shall engage in it on a mountain peak, at a holy shrine, or in the tops of trees" (12.232.23).

Before I pass on to these two themes, let me look briefly at Yoga in the Mokṣadharmaparvan. Here I am indebted to Bedekar's paper on the subject and indeed I shall begin by quoting him directly:

> The aim of Yoga, according to the Mbh Texts, is to have a direct view of the Ātman. As the fire becomes visible in the fuel, so also the Ātman in the body becomes visible through Yoga (203.39). It is the distinguishing mark of Yoga that the Yogins see the 'seer' himself, the highest Ātman (294.25). One who has performed Yoga sees the Brahman irradiating the great darkness like the fire (304.25). To one who controls his mind through Yoga, the Self shines forth like a lamp blazing forth from a pot (187.44); like a smokeless flame, like the effulgent sun or like the fire of lightning in the sky (232.17; 242.7; 294.20).[11]

The Yoga practice includes four main aspects of general preparation through moral conduct; diet, posture and surroundings; breath-control; and withdrawal of the senses, concentration and meditation. The *adhyāya* on *dhyānayoga* (12.188) gives one of the fullest descriptions, while the main passage for the Yoga of heightened consciousness (*jñānadīptiyoga*) is the *yogakathana* given by Bhīṣma to Yudhiṣṭhira (12.289). We may note in passing that among the latter's many analogies for powerful yogins is that "a yogin who has become strong, mighty with flaming energy, like the sun at the time of the end of the world, might dry up the whole world" (12.289.21, cf. also 33).

Let me now turn to the two themes which I suggested. I will begin with the mountain top, as incorporating elements of the path as well as the goal. The simile of the man standing detached and aloof on a mountain peak is quite common in the Mahābhārata. For example, Yudhiṣṭhira, after quoting the famous words of Janaka "while Mithilā burns . . .", goes on to say: "As a man standing on a rock (*adristha*) might look on one living on the earth (*jagatīstha*), so does he who has ascended wisdom's edifice look down on people of feeble intelligence who mourn for those who do not need their mourning" (12.17.19). The first of over half a dozen occurrences of *kūṭastha* in the Mokṣadharmaparvan reads: "Among men pre-occupied with duty, pleasure and profit, who are being carried off by the flood of time, composed you will stand out as one standing on a peak" (12.172.6). Using other terms again, the self's crossing of *saṃsāra* and attainment of a height beyond is described: "Once you have crossed this, you will be freed from every side, your self made clean and pure; having attained supreme enlightenment (*uttamā buddhi*), you will become Brahman (*brahmabhūyaṃ gamiṣyasi*), for you will have transcended all defilements, your self serene, immaculate; as one standing on a mountain (*parvatastha*), survey those beings still living on the ground (*bhūmi*)" (12.242.16-18). Towards the end of his discourse with Janaka, Yājñavalkya describes how a yogin meditates on *īśāna* and Brahman, declaring: "Like a flame in a windless place, like a mountain peak (*niścalordhvaśikhas tadvat*), he beholds Brahman, which is like a fire in great darkness" (12.304.19—25cd). It is in this context that there occurs the dramatic picture already noted of the man with a full jar on a staircase menaced by armed men (12.304.22-3).

In a basically Sāṅkhya context, the wise man who knows the imperishable as "aloof", *kūṭastha,* reaches this imperishable Brahman and is freed from *saṃsāra*!

(12.231.34). The term is used in a similar fashion in Parāśara's discourse with Janaka (12.279.17b). Again, when contrasting the Sāṅkhya with Yoga, Bhīṣma characterises Brahman as "without beginning, middle or end, free from duality, the creator (first cause (?), *kartṛ*), eternal, aloof (*kūṭastha*) and unchanging" (12.290.97). Even in the *Nārāyaṇīya* Brahman is so characterised (12.330.57c), while Brahmā is described as dwelling on the best of mountains Vaijayanta meditating with concentrated mind (12.338.21, cf. 9-10). The term *kūṭastha* itself is seen by Zaehner as being due to Buddhist influence, since the equivalent *kūṭattho* is found in the Pāli canon, as Renou had earlier noted.[12]

The term also occurs thrice in the Bhagavadgītā. At 6.8 it is used of the man who has achieved a serene indifference, the equanimity characteristic of Brahman itself, and so Śaṅkara glosses it *aprakampya* "unshakable". The word describes the total detachment of the true self from all that is other than the self. It refers either to the released individual as at 6.8 or to the general state shared by all such released individuals, which is how it is used at 15.16, where the one "standing on the peak" is the imperishable person, the Brahman-Ātman as eternal, changeless being. The other occurrence is at 12.3-4; here too the "imperishable unmanifest" must be the aggregate of released selves—the unchanging essence in all men described already at 2.24-5 in almost identical terms. Kṛṣṇa is here declaring that those who concentrate on the eternal essence within themselves must also reach his own being, since he is the source of eternity itself (cf. 14.17). Thus the *jñānīn* or contemplative attains to him as absolute, but not as personal deity.

That we see in the eleventh chapter, in which Kṛṣṇa reveals to Arjuna the *viśvarūpadarśana*, the sight of his universal form, after first giving him a supernatural power of vision, since his natural eye could not behold the marvel. This serves to emphasise that the mystic vision is revealed by a pure act of the deity's grace—it is granted only to the chosen and, as Kṛṣṇa declares at the end of his theophany, to Arjuna first of all mankind (11.47-8). As to what Arjuna saw, it is essentially indescribable, although the passage waxes lyrical in the attempt, making use of more elaborate metres than elsewhere. The vision is described as "made up of all marvels" (11.11c), but we may note the frequency of light imagery, as in the next verse: "If the light of a thousand suns should suddenly burst forth in the sky, that would resemble the brilliance of that great-souled one."

At the humblest level this light image is widely spread in the Mahābhārata in the simile of the steady lamp applied to the yogin. The butcher used it in describing the signs of serenity to the brāhman (3.203.36c). In the Bhagavadgītā we have: "As a lamp stood in a windless place flickers not, this likeness is recorded of the yogin controlled in thought, practising discipline of the self" (BhG. 6.19). The first pāda occurs in identical form in the Rājadharmaparvan when Yudhiṣṭhira applies it to Kṛṣṇa

(Mbh. 12.46.6a), while the image is found at least five times in the Mokṣadharmaparvan in largely standardised wording, indicating how far it has become part of the basic imagery (12.187.44d, 238 11c, 240.15d, 294.18ab, 304.19ab). Zaehner erroneously states that one of these latter is identical with the Bhagavadgītā using this to demonstrate the supposed dependence of Mbh. 12.238 on the Bhagavadgītā;[43] in fact the similarity of wording—over three verses—is with the dialogue of the brāhman and the butcher (3.203.35-7 & 12.238.10-12). On another occasion, this lamp image is followed a couple of veıses later by: "Like a smokeless fire, like the sun with its rays, like the fire of lightning in the ether, so the self is seen in the self" (12.294.20). Possibly a progression is intended here of successively more effulgent experiences. However, a rather different progression is given in the Vyāsa-Śuka dialogue, which is interesting for possible analogies with Christian mystic's references to the "cloud of unknowing":

> Then for one who is integrated in Yoga, seeing success in himself, that which has been subtly drawn out (?) would exhibit these forms: as a fine winter's fog spreads over the sky, so for one released from his body his previous form presents itself; then, on the cessation of the fog he sees a second appearance of form, as if a form of water within the ether there indeed in his self; and also, on the passing away of the water, a form of fire appears. (12.228.16-19b).

However, the passage then goes on to talk of a yellow-robed form, followed by one the colour of wool, and of various supernatural powers.

Such imagery is not confined to the Bhagavadgītā and the Śāntiparvan. I have already quoted one instance from the Āraṇyakaparvan. Let me now add a couple more instances from earlier in the epic before reverting to the Mokṣadharmaparvan. The first comes from the *Rāmopākhyāna*, where Kabandha is killed by Rāma and from his body emerged a person of divine aspect, who was seen ascending in the sky blazing like the sun in the sky (*divi sūrya iva jvalan*, 3.263.36d), which interestingly renders more vivid the description on which it is based from the Rāmāyaṇa that Kabandha shone in the sky, appearing the colour of the sun (*bhāskaravarṇābhaḥ*, Rām. 3.69.33c).[14] The *Rāmopākhyāna* version seems in fact to have imported imagery more typical of the Mahābhārata, such as we find in the description of Droṇa's death.

As Droṇa dies, it is said that he of great austerities assents to it and resorts to Yoga, becoming a light, and ascends to heaven; as he goes it seems to those below that there are two suns and the atmosphere is entirely filled with lights (7.165 39-40). This seems to indicate that Droṇa's death has been homologated with the accounts of mystical experience in terms of incomparable effulgence. Certainly the term *jyotirbhūta* employed within this description is used elsewhere of Kṛṣṇa as the supreme deity (13.143.35a) as well as of mythical figures or those achieving liberation (6.9.11d, 7.159.46b, 12.224.37b, 262.22d, 335.12c),[15] being virtually a synonym it seems of the term *brahmabhūta*. By

the way, it is perhaps worth noting that Droṇa is then received with applause by the gods as he reaches Brahmaloka (7.165.41). In qualification, however, it should be added that Duryodhana, when Yudhiṣṭhira sees him in the Triviṣṭapa heaven, is shining like the sun (Mbh. 18.1.4-5).

Even more dramatic imagery is found in one episode early in the *Nārāyaṇīya* where three sages (Ekata, Dvita and Trita, sons of Prajāpati) perform *tapas* for four thousand years in order to see Nārāyaṇa, are directed by a disembodied voice to Śvetadvīpa and there, after another thousand years of austerities, see the brilliance of a thousand suns but even so not Nārāyaṇa himself (12.323.19-53). However, Nārada, into whose journey to Śvetadvīpa this narrative is inserted, recites a *stotra* consisting of 170 names of the deity and is rewarded by the vision of Nārāyaṇa in his universal form (*viśvarūpadhṛk*, 12.326.1d). There are obvious analogies to Kṛṣṇa's theophany in the Bhagavadgītā, as well as the obvious difference in the journey to Śvetadvīpa. The latter, however, is paralleled to some extent in one episode from the Harivaṃśa. In this Kṛṣṇa himself goes with Arjuna and a brāhman to the northern ocean, to rescue the brāhman's sons who have been cruelly seized ; Kṛṣṇa divides the water, lowers the mountains, and when they reach a region of mist disperses it with his *cakra*. Then Arjuna saw a blazing brilliance in the form of a person, which Kṛṣṇa enters (Hv. 103.24-5) ; subsequently Kṛṣṇa explains that he is it as well as everything else (Hv. 104.8-15). Similarly, the description of Kṛṣṇa's penance in the Droṇaparvan includes that he is like the blazing sun and fills the space between heaven and earth with his *tejas* (7.172.50-55).

The description of Droṇa's death is, however, interestingly similar to a passage almost at the end of the Mokṣadharmaparvan, which is cast in a curiously mythical vein. A brāhman questions a *nāga* about his visits to Sūrya to draw his chariot and what wonders he has seen. The answer is : " One sees many wonders in the world of the sun. But the greatest wonder of them all was when another sun as it were approached, illuminating all the worlds with his own light. He drew near to the sun, cleaving asunder the heavens, as it were—a light like the sacrificial fire pervading all with its brilliant rays, indescribable in form but like a second sun. At his approach Vivasvat stretched out his hand to him and he also stretched out his right hand to return the greeting Then, piercing the sky, he entered the orb of the sun and instantly that brilliance, united with the sun, took on the sun's own nature. Then at the union of the brilliance of those two, we were in doubt which was the sun and which the chariot-rider just arrived. In our perplexity we asked the sun who this was who had come ascending the heaven like another sun" (12.350.8-15). The sun then declares that this second sun was one who had reached perfection, to which the *nāga* adds that such as he wander the earth in the company of the sun (12.351.1-6)[16]. However, what I have not so for revealed is that this awesome vision forms the centrepiece of the *uñchavṛttyupākhyāna* (12.340-53), devoted basically to extolling the merits of living on

the grain gleaned after harvest, and it is in this that perfection brings such results. Need I add that the brāhman hurries off to get himself initiated into the *uñchavrata* by Cyavana Bhārgava?

Nevertheless, this is the final episode of the Śāntiparvan and, if it seems in some respects like an anticlimax, that only serves to demonstrate the lack of structure to that book and the great diversity of its contents. Yet it is with this episode that Zaehner concludes an article, "Utopia and Beyond", in which he argues for a progression in the Śāntiparvan, for example, "The scheme of the twelfth book of the Mahābhārata resembles that of the Bhagavad-Gītā in that its descriptions of liberation become increasingly theistic as the book moves towards its close." [17] To the extent that he sees the *Nārāyaṇīya* (12.321-39) as the climax of the book, such a view might be justified. I must confess, however, that I personally see the Mokṣadharmaparvan as far from coherent, simply because it brings together so many divergent views. The variety of approaches apparent in relation to even two such themes is, I would argue, one of its most interesting and striking features. There is much in the thought of the Mahābharata which is tentative.

NOTES

[1] Cf. for example Karel Werner's unpublished paper, "Mysticism as Doctrine and Experience". This paper arises out of one which I was invited by him to present to the Fifth Symposium on Indian Religions at Manchester in April 1979 on mysticism in the epics. On that occasion I attempted a fuller coverage of Yoga in the Mahābhārata than in this paper, which has instead rather more to say on the two themes indicated in its title. All references are to the Critical Editions of the two epics.

[2] Incidentally, does anyone have a satisfactory explanation for the occurrence of a *sahasrāra cakra* as Viṣṇu's discus? The Rāmāyaṇa quite clearly states that Puruṣottama bore off the thousand-rayed *cakra* made by Viśvakarman after killing Pañcajana and Hayagrīva (4.41.21-2); the search-party accounts where it occurs are very late, which makes it the more surprising. In the Harivaṃśa it is used of Kṛṣṇa's *cakra* as he slays Bāṇa (112.94). The sun is of course alluded to as thousand-rayed (*sahasraraśmi*, etc.,) and this may well be relevant.

[3] See V. M. Bedekar, "The doctrine of the colours of souls in the Mahābhārata", ABORI 48-9, 1968, pp. 329-38. Sanatkumāra also appears in a late passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (7 App. I. 3.121-70) to instruct Rāvaṇa.

[4] Mbh. 5.42.4b-d in J. A. B. van Buitenen's translation (Chicago, 1978). His translation also includes a few brief comments on the passage (pp. 182-4).

[5] The term *brahmabhūta* occurs several times elsewhere in the Mahābhārata: 1.1.12d, 3.82.58d, 145.30c, 181.12c, 202.14c, 6.63.16a, 64.1b, 7.172.55b, 12.49.19b, 192.122c, 210.28c, 316.52a, 13.26.41f, 56.17c, 118.7a, 119.22d and 14.26.26c; cf. *brahmabhūyāya kalpate* at BhG 14.26d and 18.53d, Mbh. 12.154.25d, 208.19d, 243 7d, 13.128.31d, 130.33d, 131.56d and 14.47.8d.

[6] V. M. Bedekar, in "The *Sanatsujātīyam*: A Fresh Study", ABORI 58-9, 1977-78, pp. 469-77, considers that the *Sanatsujātīya* may antedate the Bhagavadgītā on the grounds that in its essential contents it is nearer to the Upaniṣads, while its style and actual phrasing is often reminiscent of them. He notes that it is non-theistic in character and also suggests that the stress on *pramāda* (lack of moral vigilance) may point to "a period of thought-ferment preparatory to Buddhism". The stress on the true brahman as one who acts rightly (5.42.23-5, 43.12, 19) in his opinion points in the same direction.

[7] Mbh. 3.203.34-8 in van Buitenen's translation (Chicago, 1975). There is an interesting discussion of the whole dialogue in Madeleine Biardeau at Charles Malamoud, *Le Sacrifice dans l'Inde ancienne* (Paris, 1976), p. 135 ff.

[8] See V. M. Bedekar, "A study of the Mokṣadharma Text (Mahābhārata XII 263): The Cloud as a Divinity", ABORI 41, 1960, pp. 73-84.

[9] See V. M. Bedekar, "The Place of *Japa* in the *Mokṣadharmaparvan* (MB. XII 189-193) and the Yoga-Sūtras", ABORI 44, 1963, pp. 63-74.

[10] R. C. Zaehner, "'Standing on the Peak', a concept common to the Bhagavad-Gītā and the Victorines", *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to G. G. Scholem* (Jerusalem, 1967) pp. 381-7.

[11] V. M. Bedekar, "Yoga in the Mokṣadharmaparvan of the Mahābhārata", WZKSO 12-13, 1968-69, pp. 43-52 (quoting pp. 43-4).

[12] Zaehner, *op. cit.*, p. 382 and L. Renou, *Śaṅkara, Prolegomenes au Vedānta* (Paris, 1951) p. 25.

[13] *The Bhagavad Gītā,* with a commentary based on the original sources, by R. C. Zaehner (Oxford, 1969) p. 246.

[14] Indeed, earlier the presentation is slightly different, with Kabandha being carried up in a shining chariot by the sun (Rām. 3.68.5-7).

[15] It is interesting to note that in the other epic it probably only occurs in a late passage (Rām. 7.1488 *) to describe the sky at Rāma's death, apparently a rather half-hearted borrowing of Mahābhārata imagery.

[16] Similarly, in a very late passage of the Rāmāyaṇa (7 App. I. 1.19 *, found in only two mss.) a Śaiva ascetic unites with Śiva like a second sun.

[17] R. C. Zaehner, "Utopia and Beyond: Some Indian Views", Eranos-Jahrbuch 32, 1963, pp. 281-309 (quoting p. 302).

Of some Epic Echoes in Bhāṇas

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The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have exerted an immense influence over Indian literature and drama, as the Mahābhārata itself declares:

"From this supreme epic rise the inspiration of the poets, as the configurations of the three worlds rise from the five elements. Just as the four kingdoms of creatures range in the realm of space, so, ye twiceborn, all Lore ranges in the realm of this epic. Even as all the senses rest on the manifold workings of the mind, so all works and virtues rest upon this narrative. No story is found on earth that does not rest on this epic—nobody endures without living off its food. Even as servants who strive for preferment live off a high-born master, so all the best poets live off this epic." [1]

All Hindus are very familiar with heroes and episodes from the epics, whose images are still very vital in many everyday occurrences: as traditional lore the epics are common heritage of people of any cultural and social background, that in the course of time developed into a rich mine of proverbs and models for action. In any context, epic references do not fail to awake immediate response.

In *bhāṇas*, dramatic monologues where due to lack of action mythical heroes do not play a main role, epic allusions are not central, but usually appear in comparions, proverbs and colloquial expressions. When its scope is wider, the epic locus is often treated ironically in accord with the satirical vein of these works.

Examination of the four old works of the Caturbhāṇī and of more recent *bhāṇas* that present epic references has resulted in the observation that epic features are configured in a more organic way in the older specimens, where comparisons, for instance, appear to be always up to the point and richly detailed. In most of the recent works, on the contrary, epic echoes have only a remote connection with the situation they are supposed to relate to. Here are examined the Caturbhāṇī and the three recent *bhāṇas*

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[1] The Mahābhārata—Trasl. ed., by J. A. B. van Buitenen, Chicago and London, 1973, Vol. I, p. 43.

that differ from the general trend in that they show the more interesting examples of epic influence Two passages from other recent works, on the other hand, present instances of poor use of epic reference.

The bhāṇas of the Caturbhāṇī

The Caturbhāṇī consists of four works, that apparently date from the fifth century A.D : the Ubhayābhisārikā of Vararuci, the Dhūrtaviṭasaṃvāda of Īśvaradatta, Padmaprābhṛtaka of Śūdraka, and the Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka.[2] Schokker [3] found in the four works a rather consistent amount (totalling 62 items) of expressions and terms that were exclusively or mainly documented in epic language.

The Ubhayābhisarikā of Vararuci

This bhāṇa uses epic references in figures concerned with both the visual aspect of an image and with its deeper meaning; for instance the rows of houses of Pāṭaliputra that resound of Vedic psalms, music and the twang of bow strings are compared to the heads of Rāvaṇa :

"With the twang of the bows, music and the sound of Vedic recitation the rows of palaces strung together in fives seem to hold conversations with each other like the ten faces of Rāvaṇa." [4]

An interesting detail is the use of the word *paṅkti* "a row of five" to indicate the disposition of the houses in the street, paired five by five like the heads of the demon. In both epics, moreover, Rāvaṇa is portrayed as a skilled bowman and as a faithful devotee of Śiva, whom he praises playing the *vīṇā* and chanting the hymns of the Śāmaveda.

Another comparison that occurs very often in Indian literature is that which identifies young courtezans with celestial nymphs, *apsarasas*; this is the Ubh. interpretation.

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[2] References give verse and line of the edition of Motichandra and Agrawal, Bombay, 1959, for the first three works, and verse and line of the edition of G. H. Schokker "The Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka", The Hague, 1966, 1968.

[3] G. H. Schokker, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 330-333.

[4] brahmodāharaṇasaṅgītadhanurjyāghoṣair anyonyam abhivyāharantīva daśamukhavadanānīva prāsādapaṅktayaḥ. (Ubh., v. 5, line. 5)

"From time to time young women resplendent like lightning shine from the round windows of cloud-like palaces, opened as they long to look down on the street, like *apsarasas* hiding in the peaks of Kailāsa." [5]

The heavenly nymphs who radiate seduction are a constant presence in epic literature; at the same time the Kailāsa, the mountain sacred to Śiva, appears frequently in both epics. The comparison is not an original one, but is certainly appropriate and it is structured on a multiplicity of levels: on the one hand there is an insistence on the similarity of the colours appearing in both images, the contrast of gold on white by which the golden complexion of young courtezans stands out on the white-washed walls of palaces like the golden bodies of the *apsarasas* on the snow of Kailāsa, the white mountain *par excellence*; on the other hand the prostitutes and their context, the tall mansions of Pāṭaliputra, appear transformed into natural elements, lightnings that flash intemittently from the clouds, while the nymphs are turned into golden jewels set upon the sides of the mountain, which is often represented as a mine of precious stones. The verb *antar-gam*, moreover, usually means "to get into, to hide", but here, referred to the *apsarasas*, it seems to indicate that one can get glimpses from them when in their curiosity to see the world they lean momentarily out of the snows.

An epic reference that does not concern a plastic image but is an arched satire of prostitutes recalls a verse of the Bhagavad-gītā:

". . . . greedy prostitutes in order to seduce other men, abandon [their old lovers] in a detached way, like the soul abandons its [old] bodies." [6]

The comparison echoes the passage of the Gītā in which the soul, in the course of its transmigrations, is said to abandon old bodies in order to enter new ones, just like a man abandons his old clothes to wear new ones. (Mahābhārata, Bhagavad-gītā, XI, 22).

The Dhūrtaviṭasaṃvāda of Īśvaradatta

The Dhū. often presents epic references in original situations. The young Devilaka, for instance, observes that fathers are the real obstacle for the enjoyment of courtezans, and declares that he would gladly brandish an axe to exterminate the fathers of the whole world, like Paraśurāma had exterminated the *kṣatriyas*:

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[5] kvacid udghāṭitagavākṣeṣu prāsādamegheṣu rathyāvalekanakutūhalāḥ
śobhante pramadā-vidyutaḥ kailāsaparvatāntargatāḥ. (Ubh., v. 5, line 6).

[6] lubdhā veśyās tān anyasaṃrañjanārtham
dehān vairāgyād dehivat santyajanti || (Ubh. v. 21).

"So I long to take an axe and make the world fatherless, like that Rāma, son of Jamadagni, bent to the extermination of the *kṣatriyas*".[7] Paraśurāma is considered one of the partial incarnations of Viṣṇu. The Rāmāyaṇa relates that he boasted to have vanquished the *kṣatriyas* on 21 occasions (Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, 74-8). As mythical hero he is spoken of also in the Mahābhārata, where this verse recurs a dozen of times:

"He is very powerful, he made the earth *kṣtriya*-less 21 times".[8]

An amusing image draws a comparison between the door of two lovers, which is shut even in daytime, and the face of Kumbhakarṇa with its eyes unfailingly shut:

"Eh, this door, which is always shut from fear of visitors, looks like the face of Kumbhakarṇa".[9]

The sentence is doubly humorous, first because it draws attention to the fact that the lovers do not conform to the laws of hospitality (during the day houses were always open to visitors, while privacy for lovers was only allowed in the night), and then because the character of Kumbhakarṇa, the brother of Rāvaṇa perennially asleep in both epics, is meant as a cosmic type.

This drama is also interesting for the rationalistic criticism it directs to religious values and conceptions that pervade epic literature, and in particular for its criticism of renouncement; the author points out that the majority of the people perform renouncement in the hope to obtain heaven. He then considers all the elements that should make desirable the attainment of *svarga*: there are found overpowerful nymphs, trees and dwellings made of gold, and it is a place where quarrels and jealousy do not even exist, where people never sleep, never drink and never separate from their beloveds. He then concludes that such an aseptic paradise lacks all the emotions that make earthly life pleasurable. It is only fools who do not see that the real paradise is on earth, as that is the only place where men can truly enjoy the love of courtezans. The protagonist, inspite of the fact that old brahmins are the usual target of his witticism, goes to the extent of declaring: "Well, I would have much rather sit in the company of old priests than with the *apsarasas*" [10].

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[7] atra me gṛhītaparaśor jāmadagnyasya rāmasya kṣatriyavadhodyatasyeva lokam apaitṛkaṃ kartuṃ matir jāyate. (Dhū., v. 11, line 21).

[8] trissaptakṛtvaḥ vasudhāṃ kṛtvā niḥkṣatriyāṃ prabhuḥ. (Mbh)

[9] aye idaṃ tadadhvanīna-bhayāt kumbhakarṇavadanam iva nityanimīlitabhavanadvāram. (Dhū., v. 27, line 5).

[10] bhoḥ māṃ prati varaṃ śrotriyavṛddhaiḥ sahāsituṃ nāpsarobhiḥ. (Dhū., v. 67, line 22).

The Padmaprābhṛtaka of Śūdraka

This drama does not refer to episodes or heroes of the epics, and only a faint echo of an advice given by Bhīma to Yudhiṣṭhira in the Mahābhārata (Śāntiparvan, 132, 36) appears in a moralistic consideration. In the *bhāṇa* a brahmin, when scolded by the *viṭa* for seducing a young buddhist nun who was acting as love messenger between the brahmin and his beloved, defends himself saying—" My friend, it is true that to abandon an actual joy in the hope of a future one is not the ideal of a man ".[11]

The Pādatāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka

The Pād. often presents general maxims that recall admonitions found anywhere in the epics: when the *viṭa* comes to know that a certain Viṣṇudāsa has been favoured by a kick [12] from a famous courtezan he ejaculates :

" As you would know, it has well been said that joy will occur to a man in the course of his life, even after a hundred years ".[13]

This maxim echoes a passage of the Rāmāyaṇa : Sītā declares that Hanuman's news of Rāma are good tidings, and adds that a long lived person will attain joy sometime during his life (Rāmāyaṇa, Sundarakāṇḍa, 32, 6).

At times epics are quoted in a tendentious way, in order to justify actions usually considered unacceptable : the *vita* scolds a man for having raped a young girl on the very day of her coming of age, and calls him cruel, but the latter replies with a quotation which he attributes to the Mahābhārata :

" Shame upon you ! You are not only a pretender, but you are really fearful and worthy of blame from the noble minded. What are you saying ? " By saying that you are favouring me. Have you not head before this [verse] of the Mahābhārata ?

" A person who has not many enemies, of whom people are not afraid and whom they do not blame when they meet, that person, uc Pārtha, is the lowest of human beings " ? [14]

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[11] sakhe, yat satyam anāgatasukhāśayā praty upasthitasukhatyāgo na puruṣārthaḥ. (Padma., v. 21, line 26).

[12] A kick given on the forehead was a sign of great favour, and usually marked the reconciliation of the lovers.

[13] suṣṭhu khalv idam ucyate—eti jīvantam ānando naraṃ varṣaśatād apīti. (Pād., v. 8, line 6).

[14] dhik tvām astu. avikatthana, udvejanīyo hy asi. nindyaś cāryajanasya saṃvṛttaḥ. kiṃ bravīṣi ? evam apy anugṛhīto 'smi. na tvayā mahābhārate śrutapūrvam :

yasyāmitrā na bahavo
yasmān nodvijate janaḥ |
yam sametya na nindanti
sa pārtha puruṣādhamaḥ || iti. (Pād. v. 48, lines 1-5; v. 49).

Both Schokker [15] and Motichandra-Agrawal [16] remark that such a verse does not occur in the Mahābhārata. The second part of the first hemistich, however, is found as the first part of a verse of the Bhagavadgītā.[17] What is more, the verse of the Pād. in the first three lines lists the qualities of a noble minded person, while in the fourth line it qualifies such a person as " the lowest of human beings ", *puruṣādhamaḥ*. Such a contrivance reveals that the author here is aiming at ridiculing the rogue by having him invent a new definition of *puruṣādhamaḥ*, with a single foot taken from the most popular sacred text, the Gītā, to which he then ascribes the whole verse.

A less structured comparison institutes a similarity between a prostitute at the balcony of her house and an *apsaras* leaning from her aerial chariot :

" Hey, who is this woman who graces the balcony of her abode like an *apsaras* her heavenly chariot ? " [18]

In both epics *apsarasas* and *vimānas*, heavenly chariots that fly in the sky, appear rather frequently.

In the Pād., like in the successive *bhāṇas*, single episodes of heroism find their place, often compared to the feats of mythical heroes, as in this verse:

" The courtezans raise their lotus-like hands to their breasts and look at Indradatta the way female deer look at the tiger as he, like Bhagadatta, has a young elephant or a trained elephant to dance in the courtyards of the prostitutes ".[19]

The fight of Bhagadatta, mounted on the elephant on which once Indra had defeated the demons, against Bhīma is narrated in the Mahābhārata (Sauptikaparvan, XXV, 19-20).

On another occasion the club fights of young *viṭas* are compared to those occurred between Bhīma and Duryodhana :

" Even in their adolescence their club fights are loudly celebrated by the elders as if they had been the duels between Suyodhana and Vṛkodara ".[20]

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15 *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 217.

16 *Op. cit.*, v. 49 p. 186, note 48.4.

17 yasmān nodvijate loko
lokān nodvijate ca yaḥ/ . . . . (Bhagavadgītā, XII, 15).

18 aye kā nu khalv eṣā svabhavanāvalokanam apsarā vimānam ivālaṁkaroti ? (Pād., v. 50 line 5).

19 saṃcārayan kalabhakaṃ gajanartakaṃ vā
veśyāṅgaṇeṣu bhagadatta ivendradattaḥ |
udvīkṣyate stananiviṣṭakarāmbujābhir
vyāghro mṛgībhir iva vāravilāsinībhiḥ || (Pād., v. 54).

20 bālye'pi kāṣṭhakalahān kathayanti yeṣāṃ
vṛddhaḥ suyodhanavṛkodarayor ivocchaiḥ || (Pād., v. 121, last couplet);

The antagonism that opposes Duryodhana to Bhīma and the duels in which the two confront each other with cudgels are a recurrent theme of the Mahābhārata.

At times an allusion to the epics serves the purpose to socially defining a character: the poet Āryarakṣita, for instance, by his behaviour proves that he is a *viṭa*, though by birth he descends from the famous line of the Śibis and has lived for many years in as holy a spot as Bhartṛsthāna :

"After all he, who descends from the stock of the Śibis and who has grown old in Bhartṛsthāna, sells his verses for a cupful of wine in the houses of brāhmins."[21]

Śibi was a legendary king whose feats are often narrated in the *Mahābhārata*, and Bhartṛsthāna is a renowned place of pilgrimage, quoted in *Mahābhārata* III, 82, 68, and 83, 57. The verse besides contains an allusion to the unruly customs of the brahmins in whose houses one gets wine, so that epic references in these old works appear always well integrated in the actual reality.

More recent bhāṇas: the Karpūracarita, the Śāradātilaka and the Śrīrāmajanma with passing remarks on the Kāmavilāsa and the Śṛṅgāratilaka.[22]

The first three dramas use epic references in a way analogous to that of the Caturbhāṇī, and sometimes show original motifs.

The Karpūracarita of Amātya Vatsarāja.

The Karpūracarita, a rather peculiar *bhāṇa* (see S. S. Janaki, *The Bhāṇa*, Doctoral thesis, Oxford 1971) of West India of the XIII century introduces a verse from the Rāmāyaṇa in a very appropriate context, as part of a very original episode : the *viṭa* Karpūraka chances to hear the moans of the rich libertine Caturaka as he is lamenting in a tavern the loss of his younger brother Nipuṇaka, exiled since a long time. From the porch of the tavern Karpūraka, in a dejected mood, as if he were Nipuṇaka, pretends to recall his elder brother and quotes the following verse :

"Everywhere there are wives, everywhere relations, but I have not yet seen a place where a half-brother is like a uterine brother ".[23]

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[21] vikrīṇāti hi kāvyaṃ
śrotriyabhavaneṣu madyacaṣakeṇa |
yaḥ śibikule prasūto
bhartṛsthāne jarāṃ yataḥ || (Pād., v. 133)

[22] References give verse and line or page of the following editions : Karpūracarita-G. O. S. 8 ; Śāradātilaka - ed. F. Baldissera, Poona 1980 , Śrīrāmajanma - ed. by author, Benares 1875 ; Kāmavilāsa - S.V.U.O., Tirupati 1971 ; Śṛṅgāratilaka - Sri Ravi Varma Samskrita Granthāvali, vol. 13, no. 1, 1965.

[23] deśe deśe kalatrāṇi deśe deśe ca bāndhavāḥ |
taṃ tu deśaṃ na paśyāmi yatra bhrātā sahodaraḥ // (Karp., v. 26)

After hearing this verse Caturaka, full of joy, opens his arms to the fake brother, who will spoil him of all his substances. The verse is a quotation from the Rāmāyaṇa (Yuddhakāṇḍa, 104. 14), the lament of Rāma for the loss of Lakṣmaṇa, who in spite of being a half-brother as a son of Sumitrā while Rāma was the son of Kausalyā, behaved like a real brother to him.

Here the allusion is resorted to in order to fool a simpleton, and it proves very actual and functioning.

The Śāradātilaka of Śaṅkara.

The Śāradātilaka is another late *bhāṇa* that shows epic echoes in tune with the rest of the narration, both as images apt to illustrate simple comparisons, and as dicta and corroborations of moral remarks, that often assume a comic intent.

An example of a simple comparison found in a complex set of images is the first description of the town of Kolāhalapura; after the usual comparison between the palaces and the *kulācala* mountains, a mythical set of mountains, the last compound suggests a perfect similarity between the pavilions studded with gems of its palaces and the caves of mount Mandara :

"... [The capital city] has the grace of charming women enraptured by the sounds of lutes which bloom with the tips of the nails, glittering on their shoot-like hands, of young men who enjoy themselves on the terraces of palaces refulgent with their sparkling moonstones, and jagged with the radiance of pavilions studded with gems and excelling in vastness the large caves of mount Mandara." [24]

The Mandara, appearing in many passages of both epics, is always represented as sparkling with precious stones and inhabited by nymphs and heavenly musicians, so that the comparison with the jewelled pavilions echoing with music seems absolutely pertinent.

At times epic episodes are recalled with the intent of extolling earth (and the town of Kolāhalapura) by showing how bad is the behaviour of the gods in heaven :

"Although the treasure of nectar (the moon) belonged to them, when the hosts of the gods saw it they tasted it again and again (so as almost to consume it);

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[24] ākārādhikaninditaghanamandaragirikandaramaṇimandirarucidantura-
lasadindūpalasundaravihāravitardikāviharamāṇamāṇavakapāṇipallava—
samullasitanakhamukhapallavitavallakīnīnādavinoditavilāsinilīlānu—
vidhāyinī kolāhalarājadhānī. (Śārad., v. 4, lines 11-14)

then, with the desire of obtaining nectar, they churned its father, lord of the rivers (the Ocean). In old days they performed against Triśaṅku the beggar, a deed difficult to describe in words. Enough of these heavenly ones, as they all seem to be interested only in filling their own bellies!" [25]

The myth of the moon as a repository of nectar and of the churning of the Ocean of milk is described in both epics (Rāmāyaṇa, Ādikāṇḍa, ch. 46; Mahābhārata, Ādiparvan, V, 15-16). The myth of Triśaṅku, a king transformed into a beggar who had obtained from the sage Viśvāmitra the boon of reaching heaven while in human form, but who had been thrown down from heaven by Indra (and who had then remained suspended between heaven and earth) is also narrated in both the Rāmāyaṇa (Ādikāṇḍa, 57, 50) and the Mahābhārata (Ādiparvan, VII, 65-66).

In a grotesque passage an ancient prostitute who has become a madam is first compared to Śūrpaṇakhā, the dreadful sister of Rāvaṇa, and then to Kālarātri, the night of final destruction, which is also the name of a black and terrifying aspect of Devī.

"Biting her lower lip in great anger and waving away the flies with her hand, with her tattered garment slipping off because of her hurried gait and her shrunken breasts looking like ripe fruits that roll up and down, with a hump like a camel and just one bad eye, carrying in her hand an old winnowing basket and bearing a terrifying aspect, like Śūrpaṇakhā, the stupid woman growls continuously."[26]

"She has dishevelled hair that touches the tips of her ears, a dirty body which gives out a bad smell, and an infection of the eyes. Stretching out both her arms and walking with quick steps, this night of final destruction for lovers makes a terrific sound."[27]

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[25] ātmīyo'pi sudhānidhiḥ suragaṇair dṛṣṭvā muhuścarvyate
tattātaḥ saritāṃ patiḥ sa mathitaḥ sarvaiḥ sudhālipsayā |
vaktuṃ duṣkaram arthinīha vihitaṃ karma triśaṅkau purā
sarve svodarapūraṇaikarasikāḥ kiṃ tair alaṃ svargibhiḥ ||
(Śārad. v. 30)

[26] hastakṣobhitamakṣikā samadhikakrodhena daṣṭādharā
vegasraṃsipaṭaccarā pariluṭhatpakvārkaśuṣkastanī /
pṛṣṭhenoṣṭravaducchritā vighaṭitaikākṣī karāgre jarac-
chūrpā śūrpaṇakheva bhīṣaṇamukhā mūrkhā muhur garjati || (Śārad., v. 69)

[27] karṇāgrasaṃsparśivikīrṇakeśā
sadūṣikādūṣitavisragātrā |
prasārya hastau muhur uccalantī
garjatyasau kāmukakālarātriḥ || (Śārad., v. 70)

"In her harsh voice she surpasses a female donkey, in her body she surpasses a plough, in her belly she surpasses a she-wolf, and in her complexion she surpasses black collyrium." [28]

Śūrpaṇakhā is the dreadful sister of Rāvaṇa, whom Lakṣmaṇa mutilated (Rāmāyaṇa, Araṇyakāṇḍa, XXIV). The comparison here is especially fitting, as a person who presents the physical and moral traits of Śūrpaṇakhā, is a perfect characterization of an old prostitute. Kālarātri, then, the night of final dissolution, is portrayed in her black and fearful aspect in the Mahābhārata (Sauptikaparvan, IX).

Another verse where epic comparison is used to ridicule a person greets with these words an old brahmin astrologer, the wretched Brahmāṇḍabhaṭṭa, blind in one eye, crippled and affected by elephantiasis :

"Homage to Brahmāṇḍa, who in his leg resembles the son of Sūrya, in his eye resembles the son of Bhṛgu, and in his scrotum resembles the Cosmic Egg."[29]

The son of Sūrya is the bird Aruṇa, charioteer of the sun, who has no legs. The Mahābhārata narrates how his mother, impatient to see him born, broke his egg before its time, thus interrupting the normal development of his limbs (Mahābhārata. Ādiparvan, V, 15-16). The son of Bhṛgu is Śukra, the planet Venus, who in his function of priest of the asuras appears in many passages of both the epics. Vāmana had made him blind in one eye. The image of the universe as the Egg of Brahmā, then, in epic literature.

The Śāradātilaka also employs epic reference to assert the validity of a maxim ; a fortune-teller for instance recalls the story of Vibhīṣaṇa in order to demonstrate that is a very common one it is dangerous to tell an unpleasant truth :

"A person who cares to be happy should never utter unpalatable words [though they might be true] ; the younger brother was beaten up in the assembly by the leader of the demons because he had given good advice."[30]

The Rāmāyaṇa narrates how Vibhīṣaṇa, brother of Rāvaṇa, had suggested not to attack Rāma, as he was in the right (Yuddhakāṇḍa, VI, 1-22.)

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[28] *Ibid*. v. 70.

[29] pādena sūryaputrāya cakṣuṣā bhṛgusūnave |
brahmāṇḍāyāṇḍakoṣeṇa brahmāṇḍāya namo namaḥ || (Śārad., v, 84)

[30] yad aniṣṭaṃ yasya vacas tad iha na vaktavyam ātmanīnena |
anujo'pi daityanetrā hitakathanen(āpi) tāḍitaḥ sadasi || (Śārad. v, 90)

In passages like the following one, instead, the corroboration offered by the epics hits with its irony a character often criticised by modern and ancient Indians, the washerman, always accused of disposing in a peculiar way the garments he is given:

"In this world Hari wears a cloth of gold, Śambhu is dressed in air, and Bhairava has cast away his clothes, as if in fear of the washerman."[31]

In both the epics there are the customary descriptions of Viṣṇu and Śiva.

In a following passage, in answer to a passer-by who was marvelling at the prowess of two rams engaged in mutual combat, the *viṭa* recalls that even the courageous Indra had reintegrated his virility with the help of a ram:

"Formerly even the valiant Indra, when his virility had been destroyed by a curse, recovered it from a ram that sprang from the race of these two animals."[32]

The Rāmāyaṇa narrates the adventure of Indra who in return for seducing Ahalyā was cursed by her husband Gautama, and condemned to lose his testicles; later on the heavenly physicians (and veterinaries) grafted on him the testicles of a ram (Rāmāyaṇa, Bālakāṇḍa, IV, v. 6).

The Śrīrāmajanma of Tārācaraṇa Tarkaratna.

This work assignable to the end of the XIXth century differs from the rest; as instead of describing the day of a *viṭa* and the incidents which characterize it, it narrates twelve days of celebrations for the birth of the heir to a king of Benares, prince Rāma. The name of the baby testifies to the devotion of the royal couple, and the whole drama is pervaded by allusions to the infancy of the hero as it is depicted in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The drama takes place at the time of the Rāmalīlā, the annual fair held in Benares to celebrate the epic hero, during which many episodes of Rāma's life are dramatically represented. The drama inscribes itself in such a devotional context, and it elaborates motifs and ideas of the Bālakāṇḍa, especially of chapters XVIII and XIX. To make the references to Rāma even more precise, even the day of the prince's birth appears to be the anniversary of Rāma's birth, the ninth day after the new moon:

"The ninth day of the new moon is really an auspicious day, as there is abundance of planets: such signs are perfectly matching the birth of Rāma."[33]

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[31] hariḥ svarṇāṃśukaṃ dhatte śambhur āsīd digambaraḥ |
tatyāja bhairavo vastraṃ nirṇejakabhayād bhuvi || (Śārad., v. 102)

[32] *Ibid.* v. 171.

[33] śuklā tithir hi navamī śubhadā grahaughaḥ |
aucityam etad akhilaṃ khalu rāmabhūtau || (Śrīrāmaj., v. 7)

This is really a peculiar work, that does not rival in comic vein with other *bhāṇas*, in that it is very serious and restrained; it is as if the *bhāṇa* form had been chosen only as an artifice to show the author's ingenuity, rather than because it had, to treat a satirical subject.

To show the other end of the spectrum, one should deal briefly with bad examples of epic reference, especially as this seems to have been the policy of most of the recent *bhāṇas*. As example we may take the Śṛṅgāratilaka of Bhāskara from Kerala of the XIXth century, and from the Kāmavilāsa of Nārāyaṇa, a *bhāṇa* from South India of the XXth century.

In the former, people asleep are simply compared to Kumbhakarṇa : " Everybody is Kumbhakarṇing ".[34]

Kumbhakarṇa had been treated in a more interesting way by the author of the Dhūrtaviṭasaṃvāda: here it is taken in only to show Bhāskara's erudition.

Similar is the following in the Kāmavilāsa-here a fight between two wrestlers is called superior to the duel between Rāma and Rāvaṇa : " [This fight] excels even the fight between the heir of Daśaratha and the demon Daśagrīva celebrated in the Rāmāyaṇa."[35]

The quotation here limits itself to quoting its sources. The vitality of the mythical image is languishing, what seems to linger on are only manneristic echoes.

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[34] sakalajaneṣu kumbhakarṇāyamāṇeṣu (Śṛṅg., lines 84-85, p. 32)

[35] rāmāyaṇaprasiddhadaśagrīvadaśarathakumārayos samaram apy atiśete (Kām., p. 11).

Further focus on Maṇḍana-Sureśvara Problem

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Among the works which we have got from the erudite pen of the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastriar, I consider, the edition of the *Brahmasiddhi* with Śaṇkhapāṇi's commentary as most precious. Sastriār's introduction to this edition is a classic in itself. The most important aspect of this introduction is the demolition of the orthodox view regarding the identity of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara. Although Prof. Hiriyanna had already marked the *āyurdāya* of this theory in his articles in the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, London, (1923 p. 259 and 1924 p. 66), it was Kuppuswami Sastriar who expanded and confirmed it by pointing to the internal evidence in the form of differences in the views on vital problems found in the writings of Maṇḍana and Śureśvara. Prof. Sastri has pointed out eleven points of doctrinal differences between the two ācāryas. The non-identity theory was assailed by P.P.S. Sastri and orthodox pandits like the late Mm. Noorani Anantakrishna Sastri, but they could not convincingly reconcile the points of difference between the two ācāryas pin-pointed by Kuppuswamy Sastriar. Yet the problem deserves further consideration at the hands of critical scholars, on the ground that there are some more evidences deserving further investigations which were not known to either Sastriar or his critics. This paper is an attempt to present the further evidences which make the problem more complicated.

The first point is that there are more than a hundred passages in verse in the *Sambandhavārttika* of Sureśvara and in prose in the *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra which have the same thought-content, same word-order and the same order of sequence in arguments. A few of these have already been pointed out by the late M. Ramakrishna Kavi in the Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, (Vol. V, 1931) and copied by P.P.S. Sastri in his preface to the edition of the *Brahmasiddhi*. How are we to explain this phenomenon? Attributing plagiarism or borrowing on either part will be blasphemy.

The second point is: There are three verses in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Bhāṣyavārttika* (3rd Adhyāya, 5th Brāhmaṇa, verses 43-44 and 45, p. 1246, Vol. III. A. S. S. ed.,).

> yathā viśuddham ākāśaṃ timiropapluto janaḥ |
> saṃkīrṇam iva mātrābhiś citrābhir upalakṣayet ||
> tathedam amalaṃ brahma nirvikāram avidyayā |
> kaluṣatvam ivāpannaṃ bhedarūpam prakāśate ||
> tasyaikam api caitanyaṃ bahudhā pravibhajyate |
> aṅgārāṅkitam ākāśe vārirāśer ivodakam ||

There is no indication direct or warranted by the circumstances to show that these are quotations from some other source. The same ślokas are found in the *Svopajñavṛtti* of *Vākyapadīya* under Kāṇḍa I śloka 1 (pp. 13-14, and 12, K.A.S. Iyer's

edition). But here they are prefaced by the statement *tathā hy uktam* which clearly suggests these being quotations. But from where? can we say, with the knowledge o chronology of these two great Advaitins we have now, that Bhartṛhari quotes from Sureśvara? Or is it that the *Vṛtti* on *Vākyapadīya* is not a *Svopajñavṛtti* as has been already contended by some scholars? But then how to rub off many external evidences which go to prove the authorship of the *Vṛtti* in favour of Bhartṛhari? In this instance itself we have such an evidence. Nārāyaṇakaṇṭha, the commentator on *Mṛgendrāgama*, quotes (under 1.2.12) the first two verses referred to above with the preface *tathā cāha tatra-bhavān bhartṛhariḥ*, suggesting that the author of the verses is Bhartṛhari himself. The verses as found in the *Vākyapadīya* and *Mṛgendrāgama* slightly vary from those found in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-bhāṣya-vārttika* with regard to some words. Instead of *upalakṣayet* they read *abhimanyate*; *amṛtam* for *amalam*, *bhedarūpam vivartate* in *Vākyapadīya* and *bhedarūpe pravartate* in *Mṛgendrāgama* and *utpāde* for *ākāśe*:

We may also turn our attention to two verses found in the *Naiṣkarmya-siddhi* of Sureśvara echoing the two verses referred to above. They are:

yathā viśuddha-ākāśe sahasaivābhramaṇḍalam |
bhūtvā vilīyate tadvad ātmanīhākhilaṃ jagat || (2.68)
tad etad advayam brahma nirākāraṃ kubuddhibhiḥ |
jātyandhagajadṛṣṭyeva koṭiśaḥ parikalpyate || (2.93).

Recently some scholars have touched upon the problem of Maṇḍana-Sureśvara identity. (See Prof. Balasubrahmanyan's article on 'Sureśvara and Maṇḍana' in the Journal of American Oriental Society Vol. 82, Oct.-Dec. 1962, pp. 522-532; introduction to his translation of 'Taittirīya-Upaniṣad Bhāṣyavārttikam' by J. M. Van Boepzler; the article entitled 'Maṇḍana Miśra on the indescribability of Avidyā' by Allen Wright Thrasher (Wiener Zeitschrift fur die kunde Sudasiens Vol. XXI, 1977). But they have nothing new to offer specifically to prove or disprove the identity and the facts mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs are not obviously known to them.

These facts can possibly lead us to another consideration. It is well known that Maṇḍana follows Bhartṛhari in dealing with several doctrines of Advaita. If we presume the identity of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara we may be able to explain that the parallel passages referred to above under point one, are due to the identity of the authorship of the both. This would mean to suggest the identity of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara held by the orthodox school of thought possible. But then what about the doctrinal differences between the two writers pointed out by Kuppuswami Sastriar? Personally I think out of the eleven points recorded by Sastriar, seven are not so serious as to make a reconciliation impossible. But as this is not the theme of the present paper, no attempt is made to elaborate further. Yet there is another serious objection to hold the identity. This lies in the striking difference in the style of writing prose and verse adopted by these two thinkers. Style marks individuality. The styles of the prose as well as the verse of Maṇḍana and Sureśvara are so strikingly different that one cannot convince oneself, even if he attempts, to hold the identity theory. Therefore we are again in difficulty in solving the problem, but we have now, as shown above, enough material for further focus on the problem.

Daksinamurti Stotra and Manasollasa

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I begin with a quotation of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri on *Mānasollāsa* (*Journal of Oriental Research*, (J.O.R.) Madras, April-June, 1932).

"It must be remembered that Śrī Śaṅkara was the greatest of the teachers who inherited the philosophical heritage of an old type of Śaivādvaita which was represented in the Upanishadic period by basic texts like *Śvetāśvataropanishad* and in the post-Upanishadic period by authoritative works like *Sundara Pāṇḍya-Vārttika* and Śaṅkara's own Bhāṣyas and devotional hymns. The parallelism between Pratyabhijñā literature and *Dakṣiṇāmūrti-stotra* which the author of this article points out, will show, if pursued further, that the Pratyabhijñā philosophy itself is a by-product of the blend of Śaṅkara's Advaita and Upanishadic Śaivism.

साक्षात्तत्वमसीति वेदवचसा यो बोधयत्याश्रितम् - This line refuses to yield to the Pratyabhijñā obsession; and this is fatal to the conclusion set-forth in this Article".

The article referred to by Prof. Sastri here is the one in the same issue of J.O.R. by Sri R.B. Amarnath Ray in which the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra* as well as Sureśvara's commentary, *Mānasollāsa*, on it are attributed to Pratyabhijñā school of philosophy and the Śaivism imbibed in it. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri refutes this in his post-script cited above.

The observations of Prof. Sastri are correct perhaps as far as Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra is concerned. But even here the last but one verse in this stotra—

भूरम्भांस्यनलोऽनिलोऽम्बरमहर्नाथो हिमांशुः पुमान्
इत्याभाति चराचरात्मकमिदं यस्यैव मूर्त्यष्टकम् ।
नान्यत्किञ्चन विद्यते विमृशतां यस्मात्परस्माद्विभोः
तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥

—goes more by the concepts that are intrinsic to Śaivism and Pratyabhijñā school of philosophy. It is of course true that this concept of Aṣṭamūrti of Śiva is older than Śaṅkara, even going to Upanishadic period and Kālidāsa mentions this in the Nāndī śloka of *Abhijñāna-śākuntalam*.

The only connection of this concept to the Advaita thought propounded by Śrī Śaṅkara is that these eight constitutents represent the " Virāṭ " form of the Supreme Brahman. So comments the *Mānasollāsa*.

कथमेवंविधा माया निवर्तेतेति पृच्छतः ।
ईश्वरोपासनारूपः तदुपायः प्रकीर्त्यते ॥
षट्त्रिंशत्तत्वरूपासु परमेश्वरमूर्तिषु ।
प्रत्यक्षेणोपलभ्यन्ते सर्वैरप्यष्टमूर्तयः ॥

But this conception of thirty-six *tattvas* does not appear to have been known to Śaṅkara as he refers to only the twenty-five elements enunciated, perhaps for the first time, in the Sāṅkhya system. Here Sureśvara says that these thirty-six elements, consist of the eight Mūrtis of Īśvara ; but strictly they are not so ; for example the Sun, Moon and Somayāji are not among the thirty-six elements. Here Sureśvara attempts at a synthesis between the Pratyabhijñā school as a system of philosophy and Śaivism as a religious tenet. It may also be observed that while Śaṅkara dovetails the Aṣṭamūrti concept of Śaivism in this verse, he does not mention, or perhaps is not aware of the thirty-six elements of the Pratyabhijñā philosophy. Thus the pre-Śaṅkara Śaivism and post-Śaṅkara Pratyabhijñā system of philosophy are quite different. However, the latter adopted the former too for giving a religious orientation to its thought content.

Thus the observation of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri stands vindicated as far as the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra* is concerned.

But what about the authorship of *Mānasollāsa* ? Prof. Amarnath Ray questions its authorship of Sureśvara mainly on three counts.

(1) " The questions with which the Vārttika starts are not such as to acquaint himself with Advaita Vedānta". Prof. Ray refers to the verses 2 to 7 in the first Ullāsa.

आत्मलाभात्परो लाभो नास्तीति मुनयो विदुः ।
तल्लाभार्थं कविः स्तौति स्वात्मानं परमेश्वरम् ॥
स्वेच्छया सृष्टमाविश्य विश्वं यो मनसि स्थितः ।
स्तोत्रेण स्तूयतेऽनेन स एव परमेश्वरः ॥
अस्ति प्रकाशत इति व्यवहारः प्रवर्तते ।
तच्चास्तित्वं प्रकाशत्वं कस्मिन्नर्थे प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥

किं तेषु तेषु वाऽर्थेषु किं वा सर्वात्मनीश्वरे ।
ईश्वरत्वं च जीवत्वं सर्वात्मत्वं च कीदृशम् ॥

जानीयात्तत्कथं जीवः किं तज्ज्ञानस्य साधनम् ।
ज्ञानात्तस्य फलं किं स्यात् एकत्वं च कथं भवेत् ॥
सर्वज्ञः सर्वकर्ता च कथमात्मा भविष्यति ।
शिष्यं प्रतीत्थं पृच्छन्तं वक्तुमारभते गुरुः ॥

"The basic question mentioned in these Vārttikas is about the nature of existence and experience (अस्तित्वं, प्रकाशत्वम्). What is the basic principle in which these two conceptions are imbibed? Do they constitute separately in each of the many elements and experience that the man comes across or do they constitute the all-pervasive principle, the Īśvara? If so, what is Jīva, what is Īśvara and how is this all-pervasiveness of the latter? How can this knowledge be obtained and what is the goal of such a knowledge? How can the individual soul become omniscient and omnipotent? These are the questions mentioned in these verses and unless the word Īśvara is considered equivalent to the personal God Śiva, each of these questions leads to answers of Advaita concept only". They are directed towards eliciting knowledge about ultimate reality possessing omniscience and omnipotence" and hence, says Prof. Ray, that they do not relate to an answer from Advaita Philosophy. But such an ultimate reality is the Supreme Brahman only and the first verse in the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra postulates this reality only.

विश्वं दर्पणदृश्यमाननगरीतुल्यं निजान्तर्गतम्
पश्यन्नात्मनि मायया बहिरिवोद्भूतं यथा निद्रया ।
यस्साक्षात्कुरुते प्रबोधसमये स्वात्मानमेवाद्वयम्
तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥

Commenting on this the *Mānasollāsa* observes,

अनादिमायया सुप्तो यदा जीवः प्रबुध्यते ।
अजन्मनिद्रमस्वप्नम् अद्वैतं बुध्यते तदा ॥ (13)

भुक्तं यथाऽन्नं कुक्षिस्थं स्वात्मत्वेनैव पश्यति ।
पूर्णाहन्ताकवलितं विश्वं योगीश्वरस्तथा ॥ (15)

So much so Sureśvara accepts the Advaita concept so far; but in some of the subsequent verses he brings in the concepts of Śaivism that are later incorporated in the Pratyabhijñā school.

ज्ञानक्रिये शिवेनैक्यात् सङ्क्रान्ते सर्वजन्तुषु ।
ईश्वरत्वं च जीवानां सिद्धं तच्छक्तिसङ्गमात् ॥

क्रिया नाम परिस्पन्दपरिणामस्वरूपिणी ।
स्पन्दमाने बहिर्ज्ञाने तदङ्कुरवदुद्भवेत् ॥

अणोरणीयान्महतो महीयानिति वेदवाक् ।
रुद्रोपनिषदप्येवं स्तौति सर्वात्मकं शिवम् ॥

ईश्वरो गुरुरात्मेति मूर्तिभेदविभागिने ।
व्योमवद्व्याप्तदेहाय दक्षिणामूर्तये नमः ॥

This is a riddle. The main śloka constitutes Advaitic thought only. That portion of commentary which follows immediately elaborates this concept of the main śloka but Sureśvara dilates and steps into Śaiva concept of religion in the subsequent portion.

The second point made out by Prof. Ray in support of his "Pratyabhijñā obsession", as Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri puts it, is that the 36 categories are mentioned in many places in *Mānasollāsa*. However, he fails to see the proper perspective in which these categories are mentioned. Let us now examine some of them. After describing the 25 tattvas of Sāṅkhya system Sureśvara says—

महान्कालः प्रधानं च मायाऽविद्ये च पूरुषः ।
इति पौराणिकाः प्राहुः त्रिंशत्तत्त्वानि तैस्सह ॥

बिन्दुनादौ शक्तिशिवौ शान्तातीतौ ततः परम् ।
षट्त्रिंशत्तत्त्वमित्युक्तं शैवागमविशारदैः ॥

There he adds the six tattvas of Śaiva school to the list. Earlier to this he narrates the theories of matters and means of knowledge of other systems like Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika. He starts and also concludes this discussion with the Advaita concept only.

माया प्रधानमव्यक्तं अविद्याऽज्ञानमक्षरम् ।
अव्याकृतं च प्रकृतिः तम इत्यभिधीयते ॥

मायायां ब्रह्मचैतन्यप्रतिबिम्बानुषङ्गतः ।
महत्कालपुमांसः स्युः महत्तत्त्वादहङ्कृतिः ।

In saying that due to successive reflections of the Supreme consciousness in the Māyā, the stages of Intellect (*Mahat*), Time and personal soul arise and then on a further reflection of the Supreme in the Intellect the ego arises, the Ābhāsavāda of Sureśvara is enunciated. According to this each lower principle in the process of creation is the reflection of corresponding higher principle in Avidyā or Māyā. Having said this *Mānasollāsa* tries to correlate the theories of five Brahmans to the theory of creation. **देवास्सदाशिवश्चेशो रुद्रो विष्णुश्चतुर्मुखः** and Rāmatīrtha introduces this line as **उक्तानां भूतसूक्ष्माणाम् अधिष्ठातृदेवतानाह. . . .**

By this we may have to understand that Śureśvara is trying to comprehend the principles of creation as enunciated in the Śaivāgamas in relation to his own Ābhāsavāda and the Māyā theory of Śrī Śaṅkara. However, there is a confusion and jumbling of these two systems.

After enunciating the theory of primary principles according to Śaivāgama in *Mānasollāsa,* we come across a strange equation between the individual soul and personal God.

इच्छाज्ञानक्रियापूर्वाः यस्मात् सर्वाः प्रवृत्तयः ।
सर्वेऽपि जन्तवस्तस्मात् ईश्वरा इति निश्चिताः ॥

This concept of the three powers Will, Knowledge and Action is more in consonance with the Śaiva and Śākta theories and lead to the reality of the universe as an effect of the Śakti aspect of the Supreme Brahman. But the discussion ends again with Advaitic conception of the personal God at the lower level and even he being dissolved in the Supreme consciousness at the highest level.

न कारकाणां व्यापाराद् कर्ता स्यान्नित्य ईश्वरः ।
नापि प्रमाणव्यापाराद् ज्ञाताऽसौ स्वप्रकाशकः ॥
तस्मान्मायाविलासोऽयं जगत्कर्तृत्वमीशितुः ।
बन्धमोक्षोपदेशादिव्यवहारोऽपि मायया ॥

Sureśvara mentions this concept of five Brāhmaṇas while commenting on the 9th śloka too.

ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च रुद्रश्चापीश्वरश्च सदाशिवः ।
तेष्वक्षरेषु तिष्ठन्ति षट्त्रिंशत्तत्वसंयुताः ॥

But the five Brāhmaṇas enunciated by Śaṅkara do not correspond to these five. They are what are known as the five faces of the Supreme सद्योजात, वामदेव, अघोर, तत्पुरुष and ईशान. The five Brāhmaṇas mentioned by Sureśvara is according to Kashmir Śaivism which is later adopted by the Śākta system of religious philosophy, while Śaṅkara's ontology is according to the southern version of Śaiva Siddhānta. This is intriguing but interesting.

The commentary on the third verse of the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra* must prove as a touchstone for the exposition of hard Advaita theory. Indeed "साक्षात्तत्वमसीति वेदवचसा यो बोधयत्याश्रितान्. This line refuses to yield to the Pratyabhijñā obsession" says Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri. But surprisingly enough while introducing such a verse of pure Advaitic concept Sureśvara resorts to the Pratyabhijñā terminology.

सत्तास्फुरत्ते भावेषु कुत आगत्य सङ्गते ।
बिम्बादिदर्पणन्यायात् इत्थं पृच्छन् प्रबोध्यते ॥

Then while discussing the methods or interpretation of the Mahāvākya, *Tattvamasi*, Sureśvara accepts the core Advaitic interpretation of भागलक्षणा

प्रत्यक्त्वञ्च पराक्त्वञ्च त्यक्त्वा तत्त्वमसीति वाक् ।
तथैव लक्षयत्यैक्यं जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः ॥
तत्त्वमस्यादिवाक्यानां लक्षणा भागलक्षणा ।
सोऽयं पुरुष इत्यादिवाक्यानामिव कीर्तिता ॥

Then he goes on contradicting nine other ways of interpreting this Mahāvākya like—जहल्लक्षणा etc., and concludes in clear terms सच्चिदानन्दरूपत्वं स्वरूपं लक्षणं तयोः -

and then, देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्याणां प्रकाशान्न पृथक् स्थितिः ।
जीवप्रकाशाभिन्नत्वात् सर्वात्मेत्यभिधीयते ॥

But almost immediately he jumps to the Śaiva concept of the Supreme.

एवं प्रकाशरूपत्वपरिज्ञाने दृढीकृते ।
पुनरावृत्तिरहितं कैवल्यं पदमश्नुते ॥
सकृत्प्रसक्तमात्रोऽपि सर्वात्मत्वे यदृच्छया ।
सर्वपापविनिर्मुक्तः शिवलोके महीयते ॥

सर्वात्मभावना यस्य परिपक्वा महात्मनः ।

संसारतारकः साक्षात् स एव परमेश्वरः ॥

Prof. Ananth Ray however considers that some of the verses in *Mānasollāsa* and even in *Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra* are interpolated. The only reason he adduces for this conclusion is that these so called interpolated verses consist the religious philosophy of Pratyabhijñā school or smell of it respectively. While this is a sweeping conclusion, as already pointed out each verse in the *Mānasollāsa* deserves close scrutiny and in correct perspective.

However, this attempt fails us at many a place when we go through this work. For example, while introducing the verse 7,

बाल्यादिष्वपि जाग्रदादिषु तथा सर्वास्ववस्थास्वपि

व्यावृत्तास्वनुवर्तमानमहमित्यन्तः स्फुरन्तं सदा ।

स्वात्मानं प्रकटीकरोति भजतां यो मुद्रया भद्रया

तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥

Sureśvara starts with Pratyabhijñā explicitly.

प्रत्यभिज्ञाबलादात्मा स्थायी निर्धार्यते यदि ।

का नाम प्रत्यभिज्ञेषा किं वा तस्याश्च कारणम् ॥

प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणेषु प्रत्यभिज्ञा न पठ्यते ।

कथं तस्याः प्रमाणत्वं इति पृच्छन् प्रबोध्यते ॥

and then follow the verses—

भातस्य कस्यचित्पूर्वं भासमानस्य साम्प्रतम् ।

सोऽयमित्यनुसन्धानं प्रत्यभिज्ञानमुच्यते ॥

तद्देशकालाकारादीन् अवधूयाऽऽनुषङ्गिकान् ।

यथैकं वस्त्वनुस्यूतं प्रत्यभिज्ञानमात्मनः ॥

मायानुषङ्गसञ्जातं किञ्चिज्ज्ञत्वाद्यपोहनात् ।

सर्वज्ञत्वादिविज्ञानं प्रत्यभिज्ञानमात्मनः ॥

and he concludes finally,

सर्वेषां प्रमाणानां च साधनम् ॥

The Pratyabhijñā is not a means or knowledge but knowledge itself. It is a Realisation in the strictest sense of the term.

न कारणानां व्यापारात् प्रमाणानां न वा पुनः ।
प्रत्यभिज्ञापनं नाम मोहापसरणं परम् ॥
यावन्ति सन्ति मानानि व्यवहारप्रवृत्तये ।
तेषां मोहापसरणात् व्यापारोऽन्यो न विद्यते ।

Then he cites the famous illustration,

शुक्तौ रजतमित्येवं यथा व्यामुह्यतेऽन्यथा ।
सदेव रूप्यं चेद्भाति विलयस्तु न सिद्ध्यति ॥

In the context of commenting on the eighth verse,

विश्वं पश्यति कार्यकारणतया स्वस्वामिसम्बन्धतः
शिष्याचार्यतया तथैव पितृपुत्राद्यात्मना भेदतः ।
स्वप्ने जाग्रति वा य एष पुरुषो मायापरिभ्रामितः
तस्मै श्रीगुरुमूर्तये नम इदं श्रीदक्षिणामूर्तये ॥

Sureśvara clearly defines Illusion as the one that gets annihilated—

मिथ्यात्वं नाम बाध्यत्वं सम्यग्ज्ञानोदये सति ।

While commenting on the words **मायापरिभ्रामितः** he defines Māyā—

युक्तिहीनप्रकाशस्य संज्ञा मायेति कथ्यते ।
नासती दृश्यमाना सा बाध्यमाना न वा सती ॥
न प्रकाशादियं भिन्ना छायेवार्कस्य तामसी ।
न चाभिन्ना जडत्वेन विरोधान्नोभयात्मिका ॥
स्वहेत्ववयवाभावात् नेयं सावयवोच्यते ।
न चावयवहीना सा कार्येष्ववयवान्विता ॥

This is the definition and nature of illusion and as enunciated by Śaṅkara as well as the latter dialecticians in Advaita. Sureśvara uses his oft repeated coinage to spell Māyā in the next verse.

अविचारितसिद्धेयं मायावेश्या विलासिनी ।
पुरुषं वञ्चयत्येव मिथ्याभूतैः स्वविभ्रमैः ॥

This word '*Avicārita-siddha*' to describe *Māyā* is used many times by Sureśvara in his Vārttikas on the two Śaṅkara Bhāṣyas, *Taittirīya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*. He appears to be very fond of this term. He defines this conception in the *Bṛhadāraṇya Bhāṣya Vārttika*.

अत्रोच्यते किमज्ञाने विचारासहतोच्यते ।
किं वा स्वानुभवाभावः अद्य सिद्धान्त एव मे ॥
अविचारितसंसिद्धां अविद्यां ब्रूम आत्मनि ।
स्वभावव्यतिरेकाभ्यां ध्वान्तसिद्धेरसम्भवात् ॥
न चिदात्मस्वभावः स्यात् अविद्या जाड्यरूपतः ।
नापि चात्मातिरेकेण स्वतः सिध्यति जाड्यतः ॥
न द्वितीये यतः स्वात्मन्यविद्येवानुभूयते ।
स्वानुभूतिर्न वेद्मीति दृष्टा प्रागैक्यबोधतः ॥

Sureśvara applies this term अविचारित-संसिद्धम् only to primordial *Avidyā* or the *Mūlājñāna* that obscures the vision of the Supreme in the final stage of realisation, i.e., the casual stage of the Nescience and not the effect stage. This view is more clear in the following lines of *Bṛhadāraṇya Bhāṣya Vārttikas*.

अविचारितसंसिद्धि सर्वानर्थैककारणम् ।
प्रत्यङ्मात्रैकसाक्षित्वात्तमस्तत्प्रत्यगात्मनि ॥
प्रतीच्यैव यतोऽज्ञानमतस्तत्तत्त्वविद्यया ।
सकार्ये तमसि ध्वस्त आत्मैवैकोऽवशिष्यते ॥

In the present verse also Sureśvara describes the *Māyā*, the Primordial stage of *Avidyā*, as *Avicārita-siddha*.

As a result of this discussion, one has two alternatives thrown up with regard to the authorship of *Mānasollāsa*,—

(1) The author is not Sureśvara since the views of Pratyabhijñā system of philosophy and the concomitant Śaiva school are predominent in it, or—

(2) Sureśvara is the author but he tried to effect a compromise between the Śaṅkara-advaita and the Pratyabhijñā school.

It is however to be noted that the Pratyabhijñā as a system did not develop but as Prof. Kuppuswamy Sastry observed, there are seeds of the same in Upanishads like *Śvetāśvatara* and of the Śaiva Siddhānta in the Vedas. Perhaps Sureśvara, after his preceptor, came across some propounders of this system, in a way of organised opposition to the pure Advaitic tenets of Śrī Śaṅkara because the latter may end in discarding a personal God. Indeed the Śankarites are also alleged to be 'pracchanna Bauddhas.' To meet this contingency and especially in view of the mass appeal the personal God philosophy generally has, Sureśvara tried to accommodate the theories of Śaivāgama and also the Pratyabhijñā system to a certain extent while commenting on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra*; or perhaps he chose to comment on this stotra only for this purpose. He might have termed the chapters as *ullāsas* in the fashion of Āgama works just to attract the attention of advocates of a personal God as Supreme, to their philosophical moorings that lie in Advaita only.

Jīvakartṛtva in Viśiṣṭādvaita and the Dispute over Prapatti in Vedānta Deśika and the Teṅkalai Authors

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This paper points to a tension within *Viśiṣṭādvaita darśana* between the general philosophical affirmation of the soul's agency (*jīvakartṛtva*) and the devotional negation of *jīvakartṛtva* in salvation, which attributes agency to the Lord. This tension, traceable in Rāmānuja's work, plays an underlying role in the later Teṅkalai-Vaḍakalai dispute over the nature of *prapatti* as seen in the writings of Vedānta Deśika and the commentaries of Maṇavāḷamāmuṇi on the works of Piḷḷai Lokācarya and his younger brother, Aḷakiya-maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Nāyanar.

RĀMĀNUJA

In the *Śrībhāṣya* and *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, Rāmānuja shows the necessity of affirming a doctrine of *jīvakartṛtva* which steers between the *prasaṅgas* of (1) *śāstraic* meaninglessness (2) defect to the Lord's controllership (*niyantṛtva*) and (3) the Lord's mercilessness or cruelty. At the same time, he must reconcile this view with (1) *śāstraic* injunctions and prohibitions (2) scriptural denials of *jīvakartṛtva* and (3) scriptural reference to the Lord as controller and cause of all action.

Against the *Sāṅkhya* view that the *jīva* is only knower and enjoyer (*jñātā* and *bhoktā*) while the *guṇas* of *prakṛti* are the agent (*kartā*), Rāmānuja explains the Sūtrakāra's affirmation: "*kartā śāstrārthavattvāt*" (2.3.33). He demonstrates logically that the *śāstras* will be meaningful only if the knower, doer, and enjoyer of action is the sentient soul, not insentient matter.

> The individual self thereby is the *kartā* and not the *guṇas*. Why? Because the *śāstras* have to be meaningful. Indeed, there are the following *śāstraic* passages: 'one desirous of *svarga* should sacrifice', 'One desirous of *mokṣa* should worship Brahman.' Such passages direct the very enjoyer of the fruits of action, *svarga* and *mokṣa*, to be the agent (*kartā*). Indeed, if the insentient (*prakṛti*) were the agent, the other (*jīva*) could not be directed. Besides, the *śāstra* is so called because it commands, and commandments impel activity; and the power of the *śāstra* to impel activity arises through the production of knowledge, and it is not possible to cause the non-intelligent *prakṛti* to obtain knowledge. Thus there will be meaningfulness of the *śāstras* only when the sentient enjoyer himself is the agent. Thus the statement 'The fruit of the *śāstras* (belongs) to the one acting on it' (*SB.* 2.3.33).

Rāmānuja dismisses scriptural attributions of *kartṛtva* to *prakṛti* as referring to the fact that in *saṁsāric* activities, the *jīva's kartṛtva* is not strictly from its essential nature, but is affected by the *guṇas*. Rāmānuja's brevity on this point is supplemented somewhat by his exposition of the five bases (*hetu*) for action—the *kartā* the Lord, and the body, organs and breaths of *prakṛti*-in his *Gītābhāṣya* on 18: 14, 15. It remained for Sudarśana Sūri to spell out the effect of the *guṇas* on *jīvakartṛtva* more fully.

Commenting on 2.3.40, "*parāttu tacchrutheḥ*" Rāmānuja affirms that the *jīva's kartṛtva* is dependent on the Lord, because of *śruti* stating the Lord to be the inner ruler controller, and cause of action (*antaryāmī, niyantā, kārayitā*). He points out that this controllership of the Lord brings up again the possibility of *śāstraic* meaninglessness, as well as a charge that the Lord is cruel and merciless. If everything is controlled by the Lord, then no one is qualified for the *śāstra*, for "He alone who is capable of activity and abstaining from activity by his own *buddhi* alone is qualified to be enjoined or prohibited to do or not to do". (*SB*. 2.3.40). Furthermore, if His controllership includes causing evil actions, then the Lord is cruel. This seems to be stated in the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* (3.9): "Thus indeed He causes whom he wants to lead up from these worlds to do good actions; he indeed whom He wants to lead down to do evil acts." (quoted in *SB*. 2.3.40).

The reconciliation of *jīvakartṛtva* with the Lord's controllership and *śāstraic* meaningfulness is made in *Brahmasūtra* 2.3. 41, "*kṛtaprayatnāpekṣastu vihitapratiṣiddhavaiyarthyādibhyaḥ*" which Rāmānuja glosses as follows:

> In regard to all actions, the Paramātman, who is the internal ruler of all, first regards (*apekṣā*) the efforts or activities undertaken by the individual, and then giving his permission (*anumaṭi*), thereby causes action (*pravartayati*). (*SB*. 2.3.41).

He explains this *apekṣā* in terms of the Lord's impartial or indifferent (*udāsīna*) in the initial effort of the *jīva* whom He has empowered to think and act (*VS* p. 149). After regarding such initial effort of the individual, the Lord then "controls by being the permitter" (*VS*. p. 148-9), for "without the permission of the supreme, no activity of that (*jīva*) can appropriately proceed". (*SB*. 2.3.41). He illustrates controllership by permission with an analogy of a joint fund belonging to two persons. "It is not possible for one of them to make it the property of another without the permission of the other (partner). Nevertheless, because the permission of the other partner is brought about only by that first partner, the fruit of this action belongs to him alone" (*SP* 2.3.41). Thus Rāmānuja shows that enjoyment of the fruit (*bhoktṛtva*) goes to the initiating agent, the *jīva*, and not the permitting Lord. Thus *śāstraic* meaningfulness is preserved.

Rāmānuja interprets the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* reference to leading the soul up and down as a special case.

> One who has situated (himself) extremely favourable to the puruṣa, engages (in action ? *pravartate*). Becoming favourable to him, the Lord himself causes a taste (*ruci*) to arise in him for actions which are extremely favourable, which are the means (*upāya*) to attain Himself (*SB*. 2.3.41, cf. *VS*. p. 149-50).

The opposite applies to those engaging in unfavourable activities. As Rāmānuja explains it, this special case is not so exceptional, since the Lord's causation here, as in the case of being the permitter, is indirect. The desire which sparks the *jīva* to future action is a fruit given to the *jīva's* initial activity. It will be seen that Sudarśana sūri brings out the special nature of this kind of causation more clearly.

In addition to Rāmānuja's philosophical defence of *jīvakartṛtva* there is another train of thought present in the *Gītābhāṣya* : the renunciation of *kartṛtva* to the Lord as part of the three-fold renunciation of fruits, possession of action, and agency (*kartṛtva*). This is enjoined on those following *bhaktiyoga* in *Gītābhāṣya* 18 4 and 18.66.

> Renunciation of fruits (means thinking) 'there should be no fruit for me—*svarga*, etc.,—arising from this action.' The complete renunciation of possessiveness (that is, of the thought that) 'This action is mine because the fruit and the *sādhana* are mine'—this is the renunciation of action. Renunciation *kartṛtva* in one's self in the thought of *kartṛtva* in the Sarveśvara is the renunciation of *kartṛtva*. (*GB*. 18.4).

His first interpretation of the *Çaramaśloka* reads :

> Renouncing all dharmas which consist of *karmayoga*, *jñānayoga* and *bhaktiyoga* which constitute the means for the *puruṣārtha* and which are being performed with great love in my worship according to qualification, (renouncing them) with the complete renunciation of agency, possession in the action, fruits, etc., in the manner taught, continuously think of me alone as the *kartā*, the object of worship and goal of attainment, and the means (*upāya*). (*GB*. 18.66).

It may be asked how this renunciation of *kartṛtva* and its fruits is to be reconciled with the previous affirmation of the *jīva's jñātṛtva*, *kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva* which we saw were necessary for śāstraic meaningfulness. And how is attributing *kartṛtva* to the Lord in keeping with his regard, indifference and permission in the soul's initial action which were seen to be necessary not only for *śāstraic* meaningfulness, but also to prevent Īśvara's cruelty ?

This problem may be resolved by looking into Rāmānuja's first explanation of three-fold renunciation in *Gītābhāṣya* 3.30 (to which he explicitly refers the reader in 18.4). The verse reads, "Making over all actions to me, with a mind devoted to the Self, free from desire and selfishness, fight without fever." Rāmānuja summarizes his remarks :

Therefore, with the thought that the soul's nature is impelled by me, on account of being my body, surrender all actions to me. Do them, thinking of this merely as worship to me, without desire in their fruits. Thereby free from possession in (these) actions, do them devoid of fever. Thinking, 'By the agent (*kartā*) the soul owned by Him, through His own instruments (organs of action) for the purpose of His own worship, the Paramapuruṣa and Lord of all, Śeṣi of all, causes his own work to be done (*kārayati*). (Thus) be devoid of possessiveness in action, free from the internal fever of (thinking 'How will it be for me with this ancient mass of endless sins performed (by me) since beginningless time (but rather) thinking 'The Supreme Puruṣa indeed, worshipped by such action, will release me from bondage'. (*GB*. 3.30).

Here the language is milder. The Lord is not called the *kartā* but the *kārayitā*, the one who causes action to be done by the *kartā* or *jīva*. But since Rāmānuja refers us to this explanation, we infer that the idea here is not substantially different from his references in the 18th chapter to renunciation of *kartṛtva* and its attribution to the Lord. The important thing to note is that in all three cases the *jīva* is only instructed to think (*anusandhā*) of the Lord as the cause of all action and thus the ultimate agent who controls and carries out all activity for his own purposes and enjoyment. Rāmānuja says nothing to indicate that the *jīva* actually ceases to be the *kartā* and *bhoktā*.

Does this mean that Rāmānuja is enjoining meditation on something false—that is, thinking the Lord to be the sole agent when in fact the *jīva* is the agent? This need not be taken so far. In a real sense, the Lord is the agent as the cause of all action, working through his appointed agents, the *jīvas*.[1] To ignore one's own agency and concentrate on that of the Lord may be interpreted as something like concentrating on the Paramātman as residing in the heart. This does not mean the Paramātman ceases to exist elsewhere, or that blood, etc., are not also found in the heart; yet in a special sense the Paramātman is truly present there. This kind of one-sided meditation is enjoined in the Vedānta for specific purposes. As Rāmānuja states in *GB*. 3.30, this renunciation of *kartṛtva* in actions performed is pleasing to the Lord, and facilitates progress towards *mokṣa*.

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[1] The later tradition, in fact, distinguished three levels of *kartṛtva*. The *svayamkartā* acts himself alone. The *prayojakakartā* acts by means of others; this seems to be synonymous to the *kārayitā*. The *prayojyakartā* acts at the direction of others. In commenting on *GB*. 3.30 where the Lord is called the *kārayitā*, Vedānta Deśika calls the *jīva* the *prayojyakartā* (*TPC*. p. 128) and the *Antaryāmī* the *prayojakakarta* (*TPC*. p. 127). See *Arumpatavilakkam* of *Toṭṭayankār* of Emparayyaṅkār (Pub. Tiruvenkatācāryār, Madras, 1890) on *Mumukṣuppāḍi*, 255, p. 179, for these definitions.

But it does put the *mumukṣu* in a difficult position. From scripture he knows that the self is the agent and that *bhaktiyoga* is the *upāya*; yet he is asked to believe or think that the Lord alone is the agent and *upāya* (*GB*. 18.66). Furthermore, he is asked to be without desire for the fruits, attributing all enjoyment to Iśvara, when the very purpose of this meditation is the attainment of the supreme fruit of *mokṣa*. Indeed, in *GB*. 3 30 he is enjoined to have confidence that this will result for him. We will see that this latent difficulty surfaced and became polarized in the dispute between *Vedānta Deśika* and the Teṅkalai authors over the nature and] application of *kartṛtva*, *bhoktṛtva* and *upāyatva* in salvation by *prapatti*.

SUDARŚANA SŪRI

Sudarśana Sūri's commentaries on *Śrībhāṣya* and *Vedārthasaṅgraha* strengthened Rāmānuja's defence of *jīvakartṛtva* by (1) carefully defining and sharpening Rāmānuja's terminology; (2) introducing clarifying analogies, and (3) bringing up and refuting possible objections. His most striking contribution is his explanation and defence of *jīvakartṛtva* in terms of *svātantrya* or indepencence, defined as "lack of obstruction in the case of (one having) the capability to act according to his will." (*SP*. 2.3.41, p. 685). The *jīva's* independence is a result of (1) the Lord's gift of limbs and organs, and the power to employ them to act or refrain from action, and (2) his gift of the power to know, desire (or will) and make effort *jñānacikīrṣā-prayatnaśakti*) and then (3) the Lord's initial in difference (*audāsīnya*) in the particular knowledge, desire, and effort to which the *jīva* gives rise. "Thus because of (the (*jīva's*) independence (*svātantrya*) in knowledge, will, etc., there is capacity for injunction and prohibition." (*TPD*. p. 149). We will see that the terms *svātantrya* and *jñānacikīrṣāprayatna* play a prominent role in the views of Vedānta Deśika and the Teṅkalai authors on *jīvakartṛtva*.

Sudarśana Sūri raises a pertinent objection to this indifference of the Lord and *svātantrya* of the *jīva*, based on the fact that the *jīva* is controlled by desires coming from *vāsanās* which are the fruit of actions given by Īśvara. He follows with an elaborate analysis of the role of *karma*, *vāsanas*, the *guṇas* and the Lord in the arising of the *cetana's* desire which precedes action. He defends the Lord's indifference here by affirming that the Lord has no special interest other than giving the fruits of the *jīva's* past *karma*. He is indifferent with regard to the *jiva's* subsequent desire and effort much as a man lighting a lamp to look for a pot is indifferent if another man uses that light to look for a cloth. (*SP*. 2.3.41, p. 688). Furthermore, the *jīva* is not forcefully directed by his desires coming from *vāsanās* of previous *karma*, for he always has the capacity to obstruct his desire by knowledge, much as a starving man will obstruct his desire for food upon learning it is poisoned. Here is where the *śāstras* attain their purpose, by arousing knowledge in the *jīva* of the benefits and dangers of actions and inactions, so that he may follow or obstruct his desires accordingly. "Thus, the *jīva's* *svātantrya* is not inhibited even in the first desire and effort".—neither by *vāsanās* nor by

Lord's controllership. (*SP*. 2.3.41, p. 688). If it be objected that this initial indifference of the Lord and the *jīva's svātantrya* will limit his controllership, Sudarśana Sūri boldly asserts:

> This is not an unfortunate result. We affirm a limitation of the śruti dealing with controllership insofar as to remedy the meaninglessness of the orders and prohibitions of the *śāstras*. Only beyond that would a limitation be undesired, and we don't affirm that. (*SP*. 2.3.41, p. 689).

He points out that since *Īśvaraudāsīnya* and *jīvasvātantrya* are both based on the Lord's own unimpeachable *svātantrya*, they cannot be a fault to the divine nature. With the analogy of a king giving power to his ministers, Sudarśana sūri illustrates that the gift of independence and non-obstruction in *jīva's* initial action "does not produce a defect to īśvara's independence. Rather it produces a manifestation of it, like that of a king who does not interfere himself after giving the position of being attendants and independence to his ministers." (*SP*. 2.3.41, p. 689). Furthermore, the Lord's controllership is manifest more fully in his subsequent role as the permitter or *anumantā*—defined as " one who instigates a work in progess." (*SP*. 2.3.41, p. 687). *Anumantṛtva* is not merely passive permission but a kind of encouragement, "an activity which has the form of removing any slackening in action, and which is a cause for (its) resulting in fruit." (*TPD*. p. 149). Thus, "He rules by being the permitter in order to remove the doubt that His controllership may be impaired. Even though he has the power to control by all methods, only because of his will (*saṅkalpa*) he controls by being a permitter" (*TPD* p. 149).

Having thus delineated the Lord's *audāsīnya* and *anumantṛtva*, he now takes up the Lord's *prayojayitṛtva*, causation or instigation of action as seen in the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* quote cited by Rāmānuja. Sudarśana sūri defines the *prayojayitā* as " one who instigates a work not in progress" ((*SB*. 2.3.41, p. 687), thus clearly differentiating this case from permission. He adds that "Īśvara right from the beginning causes such special aid in a few cases." (*SP*. 2.3.41, 689). But, he says, " Like giving permission to one who does a prior action, even instigation (*prayojayitṛtva*) of an action of one who is exceedingly favourable or unfavourable amounts to giving the fruit." (*SP*. 2.3.41, p. 686). There is a significant difference between Sudarśana Sūri's explanation and Rāmānuja's treatment of the special case of causation. Rāmānuja had said that in this case, where one has engaged himself in extremely favourable or unfavourable action, the Lord himself gives that *jīva* a desire which is then a cause for further favourable or unfavourable action. Sudarśana Sūri refers to neither the *jīva's* prior action nor the Lord's granting of a desire. He implies that in this special case dealing with salvation, the *jīva* has a desire—a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards the Lord and then the Lord himself steps in with the action; hence his statements that this is " instigation of a work not yet in progress" which occurs " right from the beginning" (see above). Since it is a special case, and since the Lord is acting only in accord with

(that is, giving the fruit of) the *jīva's* initial desire, there is no invalidation of *śāstra* or possibility of cruelty or partiality. On the contrary, Sudarśana Sūri brings out that this causation or instigation instance allows scope for the Lord's compassion:

> His qualities of compassion, etc., are fulfilled in his forgiving huge defects on the basis of a slight favourability (*SP*. 2.3,41, p. 686).

> And there is room for compassion in that, ignoring the innumerable sins of one who has done great offences in innumerable previous births, merely because of his subsequent cessation of unfavourable resolution, the Lord himself acts in order to give him unexcelled happiness (*TPD*. p. 156).

The statement that in the case of *prayojayitṛtva*, "the Lord himself acts" contrasts sharply to the states of indifference and permission in which *svayam eva pravartate*" refers to the *jīva* *TPD*. p. 149). If Sudarśana Sūri means that Īśvara steps in before the *jīva*'s effort and action to act Himself, then this may allow room for negation of *jīvakartṛtva* with regard to salvation. Indeed, we will show that the Teṅkalai authors take this direction.

Since Sudarśana Sūri did not comment on the *Gītā*, we don't know how he might have interpreted renunciation of *kartṛtva*. It is noteworthy that whereas he often refers to the Lord's *sarvakāraṇatva* and the soul's *parādhīna* in the course of this discussion, he never refers to the Lord's *sarvakartṛtva* or the *jīva's pāratantrya*. Thus he avoids any direct conflict of these terms with the *jīva's kartṛtva* and *svātantrya*. We saw how the king-analogy reconciles the *jīva's svātantrya* with his dependence (*parādhīna*) and Īśvara's *svātantrya*. In short we can say that Sudarśana Sūri comes out strongly in support of *jīvakartṛtva* and *svātantrya* in view of the Lord's indifference and permission. But he leaves open the possibility of bypassing *jīvakartṛtva* in the special case of salvation where the Lord is the instigator.

VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA

Throughout his works, Vedānta Deśika shows a concern to preserve a measure of the *jīva's* god-given independent agency in order to defend the meaning and universal applicability of *śāstra*, the *jīva's* liability to the fruits of *karma*, and the Lord's egalitarianism. But Deśika is highly aware of the possibility of tension between the philosophical affirmation of *kartṛtva* with its dependence on the Lord, and most importantly, its renunciation in the context of salvation. We will see that he resolves this tension much in the manner of Rāmānuja, affirming the validity of the *jīva's* inherent agency, even in the mental renunciation of *kartṛtva*.

Vedānta Deśika's most coherent defence of *jīvakartṛtva* occurs in his *Tātparyacandrikā* on *Gītābhāṣya* 18: 14, 15, where he elaborates Rāmānuja's discussion of the five *hetus* of action—the Lord, the *kartā* or *jīva*, and the body, breaths and organs of

prakṛti which are under the control of the Lord. Here Vedānta Deśika follows Sudarśana Sūri in arguing for the *jīva's* " *svātantrya* in particular activity " (*TPC.* p. 558) due to the Lord's indifference in the initial action, though the *jīva's kartṛtva* in general is dependent on Īśvara. He brings up an objection similar to the one raised by Sudarśana Sūri that, " If all activity is dependent on the Paramātman, how can it be said that he waits for the effort done (by the *jīva*) ? " He replies :

> (1) The bestowal of limbs and organs, etc., which are capable of acting as intended by one's own will, like a machine, and
>
> (2) the state of being situated as the support (*ādhāra*) of all by his own *svarūpa* and *saṅkalpa* by his conformability to all action and inaction, like the earth ; and (3) the presentation of external objects on which action depends—all these are of Īśvara. All this is in accord with the *jīva's kartṛtva* and is common to action and inaction. Thus there is no room for objection, insofar as it has been stated that the Lord's indifference is common to all action and inaction. At the time of an action of a man who has obtained power in this way, Īśvara's being the permitter is in order for action to be effective. Even this does not invalidate the *jīva's kartṛtva.* (*TPC.* p. 554).

Citing Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (1.4.3.4) that " the *kartā* is the one who is independent (*svatantra*) " (*TPC.* p. 554) Vedānta Deśika follows Sudarśana Sūri in pointing out that the *jīva's* " *svātantrya*, etc., is attained by there being no prevention by the Supreme in regard to the desire of one who is capable of action." (*TPC.* p. 557). Need of the Paramātman's permission is thus no bar to the *jīva's svātantrya*, nor does it affect liability to injunctions and prohibitions. " Because it is seen in the world that there is injunction and prohibition and (enjoyment of) the fruits also in the case of actions which are impossible for each man individually, but which can be performed by many people coming together (*TPC.* p. 557).

Vedānta Deśika is concerned to show that there is never any defect to the *jīva's kartṛtva* by the Lord's directorship (*prerakatva*) since the Lord does not instigate or cause action forcibly, but always through the *guṇas*, in accordance with the *jīva's* past *karma.* Vedānta Deśika interprets this as the Lord's *sāmya* or egalitarianism, which delivers Him from the possibility of cruelty or partiality.

> The unequal distribution of organs, limbs, ability, knowledge, desire, etc., the lack of prevention of harmful activity and permission which promotes the arising of sin—since all these are conditioned by differences in previous *karma*, they do not bring cruelty and partiality to the Lord (*TPC.* p. 557).

In *Adhikaraṇasārāvaḷī* he compares the Lord's causation of actions to water which sprouts the *jīva's kārmic* seeds.

> The Lord is the cause of the sprouting of actions, like water. Differences among living beings from Brahma are because of the seeds of *karma* whose

fruits are individually stipulated; His *sāmya* was declared by Himself in the *Gītā* and in *śruti.* Therefore the differences like leading down, etc., are fruits according to such *karma.* Thus the process is beginningless and well-regulated (*AS.* 237).

"Leading down, etc." here seems to refer to the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* quote cited by Rāmānuja as an instance of Lord's causation. By clearly interpreting this causation as giving the fruit of previous action, he follows Rāmānuja rather than Sudarśana Sūri. Indeed, Vedānta Deśika does not differentiate the Lord's causation or instigation as a separate circumstance, but interprets *prayojayitṛtva* or *prerakatva* as the Lord's general indirect causation of action through the agents, by being the ground cause, indifferent regarder and permitter, and giver of fruits of action. The following passage in the *Adhikaraṇasārāvaḷī* might be a veiled recognition of his difference with Sudarśana Sūri on this point.

> The Lord's witnessing, etc. (*Sākṣitva,* cf., *apekṣā*) does not obstruct his directorship (*prerakatva*) which is equally authorized by scripture. Even (these) portions of the *Śrībhāṣya,* and other scriptures, are to be (interpreted) with the same meaning for those of collected mind (*AS* 242).

But like Sudarśana Sūri, Vedānta Deśika brings out that the case of salvation is special in that it allows room for the Lord's compassion. However, for Vedānta Deśika, the Lord's gracious gift of salvation is given only after regard to the soul's initial action-performance of a *sādhana.* His mercy is manifest because the *jīva's* performance of a *sādhana* is disproportionate to the supreme fruit of *mokṣa* and attainment of Himself that the Lord grants; it is a mere *vyāja* or pretext which evokes this great compassion. In *Adhikaraṇasārāvaḷī* he says:

> At the proper time, the Lord causes the cessation of misery, to arise. His desire to take away misery, which depends on a mere *vyāja,* is the mercy of the One who is ever mindful of the welfare of others. (*AS* 238).

Thus even in salvation, Vedānta Deśika insists that *jīvakartṛtva* applies. He interprets the *Brahmasūtras* to mean that *jīvakartṛtva* is absolutely inherent to the soul's very nature; thus there is continuity of *jīvakartṛtva* in *saṁsāra,* in the performance of a sādhana, and in *mokṣa* where the *jīva* engages in *kaiṅkarya,* service to the Lord.

> In the performance of *prapatti,* and *kaiṅkarya* and in *bhakti,* there is *kartṛtva* which is dependent on the Lord. As stated by sūtrakāra, '*kartā śāstrārthavattvāt*' and '*parāttu tacchruteḥ*' (*BS* 2.3.33.40) (the *jīva's*) non-existence would result from the lack of engaging in purposeful activity which is the mark of existence. (*RTS* ch. 27, pp. 702-3).

In keeping with this view of the inherency of *jīvakartṛtva*, Vedānta Deśika makes it explicit that the renunciation of *kartṛtva* in the *Gītābhāṣya* is mere meditation on the Lord as the ultimate cause and agent on the soul's dependency on Him. There is no question here of denial of *kartṛtva*, for the soul's actual *kartṛtva* cannot be given up. Rather than a denial, *kartṛtva-tyāga* is an *affirmation* of *jīvakartṛtva* as dependent on the Lord—both directly because of needing the gift of organs, etc., and his permission, and indirectly through the *guṇas* which are under his control. He defines *kartṛtvatyāga* in *Rahasyatrayasāra* as, "the awareness of one's dependence solely on the Lord (*bhagavadekapāratantrya*) which is co-eternal with the soul, which means that one's *kartṛtva* comes about based on him" (*RTS*. ch. 12, p. 415). In *Tātparya-candrikā* he says:

> Meditation on *kartṛtva* in the Lord is based on one's own *kartṛtva* being dependent on him and needing his permission. Renunciation of *kartṛtva* is meditation on one's own *kartṛtva* as affected by others, in that one is not the sole actor. (*TPC*. 18 : 4, p. 542).

Here he seems to refer to the five causes of action mentioned in *Gītā*. (18:14, 15); commenting on that verse, Vedānta Deśika actually brings up the objection that this mental renunciation of *kartṛtva* might be accused of being delusory in view of the *jīva's* inherent *kartṛtva*. The objection is:

> Even though in this way all five (*hetus* of action) are the cause, the soul alone is the agent. Then thinking of (the *jīva's*) non-*kartṛtva* should be only delusory. . . . In order to protect injunction and prohibitions, so much *kartṛtva* cannot be given up (*TPC*. 18 : 14-15, p. 558).

He replies:

> Meditation on non-*kartṛtva* is the remedy for (1) the delusion that one's inherent *kartṛtva* is independent of another controller (the Lord) and (2) the pride of those who confuse the body and the soul (who imagine) dependence on nothing else in their actions which are (actually) dependent on many. (*ibid.*)

Thus Vedānta Deśika defends mental renunciation of *kartṛtva* for its purposefulness in dispelling certain misconceptions and facilitating progress toward *mokṣa*.

He interprets three-fold (mental) renunciation as an attitude enjoined on all *mumukṣus* following *karmayoga*, *bhaktiyoga*, even *prapatti* (*RTS* ch. 29, p. 1053, also ch. 12, p. 415). In *Rahasyatrayasāra*, he quotes one of his own verses, (*Nyāsadaśakam* 3) which gives full expression to the mental renunciation which attributes all agency, results, and instrumentality to the Lord.

> The Lord himself has surrendered me to Himself by his own mind he gave me, for his purposes I who am under his control, am devoid of responsibility by being his responsibility.*

He explains that this verse illustrates "the method of meditation on the Lord without the faults of attachment to the fruits of fame, gain or honor, *kartṛtva*, or *upāyatva*." (*RTS* ch. 23, p. 651). Thus he makes it clear that his own verse is not to be taken as a denial of *kartṛtva*, but only as an example of the mental renunciation of *kartṛtva*.

Before further explicating the effect of Vedānta Deśika's view of *jīvakartṛtva* on his doctrine of *prapatti*, it is necessary to look at the Teṅkalai authors; much of what Vedānta Deśika has to say on this point is aimed directly against the Teṅkalai view.

MAṆAVĀḶAMĀMUNI AND THE TEṄKALAI AUTHORS

We find a defence of the philosophical necessity of *jīvakartṛtva* in Maṇavāḷamāmuni's commentary on Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Tattvatraya* (*citprakaraṇa*, 29-38). Throughout Maṇavālamāmuni follows Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* quite closely, pointing out the necessity of affirming the *jīva's jñātṛtva*, *kartṛtva*, and *bhoktṛtva* and *śāstraic* meaningfulness. His commentary on *Tattvatraya* 35, "*kartṛtva* itself is dependent on Īśvara", summarizes the *Śrībhāṣya's kartṛtvādhikaraṇa*:

> In order for the *śāstras* to be meaningful, we have to take *kartṛtva* as the soul's attribute. Since knowledge, will and effort, which are the soul's *dharmas*, are dependent on the Lord, and since that knowledge, etc., cannot be a cause for action without the Lord's permission, it is said that his *kartṛtva* is dependent on Īśvara. Since Īśvara gives permission only after regarding the effort coming from the soul's *buddhi*, both the merit and demerit connected with that action belong to the *cetana* alone. In this way, even though *kartṛtva* is dependent on the Paramātman, it does not follow that statements of injunction and prohibition are meaningless (*TaTr* comm. 35).

While affirming that the Lord is the Controller or *Niyantā* and the soul is controlled (*niyamya*) by Him according to the *ātmaśarīrabhāva*, Maṇāvāḷamāmuni points out that—"This is not a state such that the *cetana* cannot do any activity on his own, like the insentient body. Rather, since he has *jñātṛtva, kartṛtva*, and *bhoktṛtva* as his natural qualities, he is able to act preceded by knowledge, will and effort". (*TaTr* comm. 38).

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* svāmī svaśeṣam svavaśam svabharatvena nirbharam
svadattasvadhiyā svārtham svasminnyasyati mām svayam

(*Nyāsadaśakam* 3, *RTS*. 23, p. 650).

Though Maṇavāḷamāmuni refers to the Lord's indifference (*audāsīnya*) in the arising of the *jīva's* knowledge, will and effort, he does not follow Sudarśana Sūri in stating that this constitutes any independence on the *jīva's* part. This discussion includes only one brief reference to *svātantrya*, in a quote from the *Tattvasāra* (48) of Vātsya Varadaguru, Sudarśana Sūri's teacher. It reads ". . . That man, giving rise to some knowledge, will and effort, acts by the independent power given to him by Īśvara." Māṇavāḷamāmuni glosses *svātantrya* here as "independent power having the form of knowledge" (*TaTr* comm. 35). There is a similar tendency in the Teṅkalai works to reduce *kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva* to *jñātṛtva* on which they are based; *kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva* are called "particular states of knowledge." (*TaTr* 29-30).

Maṇavāḷamāmuni brings up the special case of the Lord's causation of action in the *Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad* quote: he follows Rāmānuja's interpretation of this as the case of the Lord's giving desire for good and bad deeds which are *upāyas* or obstacles to attainment of the Lord as a fruit of a previous act. He does not follow Sudarśana Sūri in distinguishing this form from the Lord's general causation in the states of indifference and permission, nor does he point out that this gives any special room for the Lord's compassion. But we will see that the Teṅkalai view of *Prapatti* continues Sudarśana Sūri's line of thought on this point. Nor do the Teṅkalai authors ever bring up Rāmānuja's three-fold renunciation to support their attribution of *Kartṛtva, bhoktṛtva* and *upāyatva* to the Lord, though their view has obvious similarities with Rāmānuja's first interpretation of the *Caramaśloka*. The reason for neglecting these Vedāntic works is that by Piḷḷai Lokācārya's time these were seen as expounding only *bhaktiyoga*, which the Teṅkalai authors take pains to differentiate from *Prapatti*. These authors appeal primarily to the interpretation of the three *rahasyamantras* and certain key verses of the Āḻvārs for their support.*

The denial of the soul's *kartṛtva, bhoktṛtva* and participation in the *upāya* in the case of salvation by *prapatti* is not a mere meditation for the Teṅkalai authors. It takes an ontological significance due in part to the distinction between what Maṇavāḷamāmuni calls the *jīva's svarūpa* and *svarūpayāthātmya*—the soul's nature and his nature as it truly is. The *jīva's* lower *svarūpa* includes *jñātṛtva, kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva*, and also *śeṣatva* insofar as these characteristics are dependent on Īśvara (*AcHr*. comm. 20). In this state,

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* The three *rahasyas* are the *Tirumantra*, "*Om namo Nārāyaṇāya*", the Dvaya, "*Śrīman Nārāyaṇa - caraṇau śaraṇam prapadye*; *śrīmate Nārāyaṇāya namaḥ*" and the *Caramaśloka*, "*sarvadharmān parityajya, mām ekam śaraṇam vraja; aham tvā sarvapāpebhyo mokṣayiṣyāmi, mā sucaḥ*". The Teṅkalai authors do not invoke Rāmānuja's interpretation of the *Caramaśloka* to support their own interpretation. Vedānta Deśika also admits that interpreting the *Caramaśloka* in terms of *prapatti* is different from Rāmānuja's interpretation in terms of *bhaktiyoga*. But Vedānta Deśika does not see *prapatti* and *bhaktiyoga* as being different in principle (as the Teṅkalai authors do) and says that three-fold renunciation applies to followers of both *upāyas*.

Maṇavāḷamāmuni says, "since he has *kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva* which are effects of *jñātṛtva*, he is entitled to engage in self-effort and self-purpose" (*SVB*. Comm. 71). On this level the *Śrībhāṣya* defence of *jīvakartṛtva* applies; the *jīva* engages in knowledge, will, and effort; the Lord, regarding that effort, brings it about by his permission, and grants, fruits according to its merit or demerit, as described in the *śāstras*. *Śeṣatva*, which Piḷḷai Lokācārya describes as actually more intimate to the soul's nature than *jñātṛtva* (*SVB* 73) is the link to the higher realization of the soul's *svarūpayāthātmya* of *pāratantrya* and *bhogyatā*—dependency and delightfulness. Maṇavāḷamāmuni explains that *śeṣatva* "has the sole form of *pāratantrya* and *bhogyatā* as its extreme limit" (*AcHr* comm. 20). The realization of this extreme dependency and subservience to the Lord brings with it the cessation of self-efforts and self-purpose with regard to one's own salvation.

Aḷakiyamaṇavāḷapperumāḷ Nāyanār states in *Ācārya-hṛdayam* (21, 24) that "*pāratantrya* and *bhogyatā* (*svarūpa-yāthātmya*) are not like *śeṣatva* and *bhoktṛtva*. (He means the *svarūpa*, including *jñātṛtva*, and *kartṛtva*). . . . Among these four, one promotes action, one promotes inaction." Maṇavāḷamāmuni explains that "the reason for these forms of self-effort and its cessation is their different proportions of *svarūpa-jñāna*" (*AcHr*. Comm. 20). He continues:

> For *śāstra* followers who have realized *śeṣatva* and *bhoktṛtva* in the *svarūpa*, *bhoktṛtva* induces them to engage in an *upāya* and to attain the Lord as an object, with the thought that one who is a *bhoktā* (enjoyer) needs to make effort to attain enjoyment. For those who know the essence (*Tirumantra*) and have realized *pāratantrya* and *bhogyatā* as the form of the soul's true nature, *bhogyatā* prevents them from engaging in an *upāya* because of the thought, it is not appropriate for the thing (*jīva*) which is an object of the Lord's enjoyment to do effort for his own gain. Īśvara alone who is the *bhoktā* does effort to attain the thing which is his delight. (*AcHr*. Comm. 24).

Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇa contains a similar exposition of the two levels of *svarūpajñāna*, but with a terminological difference. Piḷḷai Lokācārya uses *jñātṛtva* to refer to the soul's lower nature, (not *śeṣatva*) and *śeṣatva*, coupled with *pāratantrya* (not *bhogyatā* and *pāratantrya*) to stand for the higher nature. The intermediary character of *śeṣatva*, as explained by Maṇavāḷamāmuni above, seems to allow for this discrepancy. At any rate, there is no difference in the result as far as *kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva* are concerned. Here, too, self-effort and self-purpose are dropped with the higher realization, and the Lord alone does the effort and enjoys the fruit in saving the soul. Piḷḷai Lokācārya says, "The cessation of self-purpose is a result of *śeṣatva*". (*SVB*. 71).

Maṇavāḷamāmuni explains:

> Even though he has *kartṛtva* which is connected with *jñātṛtva*, the cessation of self-effort (*svayatnanivṛtti*) which is a state where he does no effort to attain the Lord, is an effect of *pāratantrya*, which is the state of having the conditions of one's

svarūpa dependent on another. Even though he has *bhoktṛtva* in that same way, the cessation of self-purpose which is the state of being without anything for oneself other than that which causes delight on His part, is an effect of *śeṣatva* which is a state having the form of being the contributor of excellence to the other. Therefore, since both *pāratantrya* and *śeṣatva* are the soul's nature, as soon as one knows these characteristics, these two (cessation of self-effort and self-purpose) spontaneously come about. (*SVB*. Comm. 71).

The Teṅkalai view of the soul's higher nature of dependency and its consequent cessation of effort in self protection affects their doctrine of the nature of *prapatti*. We find that descriptions of *prapatti* in the Teṅkalai works fall into three categories. First, *prapatti* is said to be a function of knowledge. It is the realization of one's true essential nature of extreme *pāratantrya*, as voiced in the "*nāmas*" of the Tirumantra (*MuMu* comm. 94). The *prapadye* of the *Dvayamantra* is "an effect of knowledge of being the *śeṣa* belonging to no other. (*MuMu*. comm. 155). The "*śaraṇam vraja*" in the *Carama-śloka* means to "resolve firmly" that the Lord is the *upāya* and *upeya* (*MuMu*. 236-9). Thus] *prapatti* is often called a "*jñānaviśeṣa*" or special kind of knowledge. Secondly, *prapatti* is in part a function of the will or desire a "choosing of the *upāya*" (*upāyavaraṇa*, *prāpakavaraṇa*, *MuMu*. comm. 160-2), or acceptance of the Lord as the protector (*bhagavadrakṣakatvānumati*, *svīkāra*, *MuMu* comm. 155, 222). *Prapatti* "contains a request" (*yācñāgarbha*, *MuMu* comm. 155) saying "please take me for yourself alone" (*MuMu* comm. 94, quoting *Tiruvāymoḷi* 2.9.4). This is a prayer for service (*kaiṅkarya-prārthanā*) at the Lord's feet which is the rightful occupation of the dependent *śeṣa* (*MuMu* 106-8). Thirdly and most importantly, *prapatti* is a function of cessation of effort, since effort at self-protection is contrary to the *svarūpayāthātmya* of *pāratantrya*. Piḷḷai Lokācārya says, "only knowledge of the soul and non-obstruction are needed for the fruit (of salvation)" (*SVB* 60), which Maṇavāḷamāmuni interprets as "knowing one's *śeṣatva* to him alone" and "cessation of engaging in one's own protection." (ibid.) In *Mumukṣuppaḍi*, Lokācārya says, "By ceasing his own action he makes (the Lord) the *upāya*" (*MuMu*. 152). According to the Teṅkalai authors, cessation from all one's own efforts and activities is enjoined in "*sarva-dharmān parityajya*," and effort, activity and *upāyatva* in *prapatti* itself is excluded by the *ekam* of "*mām ekam śaraṇam vraja*" (*MuMu*. 229-34). Thus Piḷḷai Lokācārya says "for other *upāyas*, inaction is a fault; for this one, action is a fault" (*MuMu*. 232). Maṇavāḷamāmuni says (*SVB* 62) "when he remains as one who has ceased his own efforts . . . . only then does the Lord himself protect".

Thus while the Teṅkalai authors admit that the *jīva's* knowledge and will or desire participate in *prapatti*, they deny any role of effort. For them, all forms of *svātantrya*, self-effort, self-purpose, and even self-*kartṛtva* contain *ahaṅkāra* or egoism which is contrary to the soul's true nature of dependency on the Lord. (*SVB*. 74-6, *MuMu* 230). Therefore, with regard to salvation, the series of knowledge, will and effort *jñānacikīrṣāprayatna* on which *kartṛtva* is based is interrupted at the level of effort. With the cessation of self-effort, the Lord's indifference is dropped and He steps in to act

directly to save the soul. Thus the effort and *kartṛtva*, as well as the enjoyment of the fruit of *bhoktṛtva*, belong only to the Lord. Maṇavāḷamāmuni brings out this point by paraphrasing the Lord's message in the *Caramaśloka*:

> Realizing your essential dependence which is such that you have neither the effort nor benefit (*yatnaphalitva*), (you realize that) you are not at all entitled in the work of your own protection. I (the Lord) am the *svāmī*, such that both the effort and benefit in your protection are mine. (*MuMu.* comm. 256).

Though these authors do not point it out explicitly, this denial of *kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva* in salvation still, preserves the general validity of the *śāstra* because it applies only in the special case of *prapatti*. Furthermore, since the Lord is acting in accordance with the soul's knowledge and desire, there is no possibility of force, partially, or cruelty. And actively saving the prostrate soul is the very manifestation of the Lord's mercy.

Since the Lord is the only active agent in salvation, the Teṅkalai authors staunchly resist calling *prapatti* an act or *upāya* performed by the *jīva*. It may be argued, as Vedānta Deśika does, that even the cessation of effort is a kind of effort or activity, and thus *jīvakartṛtva* in this instance cannot be bypassed. But the Teṅkalai authors do not see it this way. For them, a cessation of effort by definition involves no effort, and it is therefore a non-act and a non-*upāya*. Hence the *jīva's kartṛtva* and the resulting *bhoktṛtva* are invalid in salvation, and the Lord is affirmed as the only true agent and enjoyer.

After *prapatti*, however, in the state of *kaiṅkarya*, the *jīva's kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva* re-appear. It is against the *svarūpa* of the dependent *jīva* to actively protect himself, but it is very much in accord with his nature to actively serve the *śeṣi* on whom he depends. In *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇa*, Maṇavāḷamāmuni explains:

> Activity in the form of service, done for the purpose of the other, is the purpose of his effort which has the form of undertaking activity. Pleasure which takes as its object the one who becomes extremely pleased from the *kaiṅkarya* that the *cetana* does to facilitate His pleasure is the purpose of his intelligence (*caitanya*) which has the form of distinction from *acit*. (*SVB.* comm. 72).

In *Ācāryahṛdayam* he explains that the soul's *bhoktṛtva* becomes subservient to, but not cancelled by, his *bhogyatā*, that is, the *jīva's* own enjoyment in *kaiṅkarya* only serves to enhance the delight of the Lord (*AcHr.* comm. 25).

VEDĀNTA DEŚIKA—PART 2

Vedānta Deśika's view of *jīvakartṛtva* and *upāyatva* in *prapatti* can now be seen in contrast to the Teṅkalai position. For Vedānta Deśika, since *kartṛtva* is inherent in the soul's most intimate nature, there is no conflict with the *svarūpa* in exercising that *kartṛtva* in performance of an *upāya*. On the contrary, because of this inherency, it is

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antithetical to the *svarūpa* to deny *jīvakartṛtva* totally in such an instance. In the case of *prapatti* and *bhakti*, as in all other actions, the Lord waits for the soul's initial knowledge, will and effort before bringing the action about and giving the fruit. Vedānta Deśika is emphatic that *jīvakartṛtva* includes effort: "*kartṛtva* in the form of being the locus of effort is unique to *cetanas*" (*RTS*. ch. 29, p. 1101), "If it is said that there is knowledge and desire, without any other activity, there would be no way (for the *jīva*) to perform *upāyas* or *kaiṅkarya*. . . . Therefore the soul has all three-knowledge will and effort" (*RTS*. ch. 29, p. 1100).

Vedānta Deśika charges that the Teṅkalai view of *prapatti* is self-contradictory, since *kartṛtva* cannot be avoided by cessation of effort in self-protection. "For it is established in the world and in the Veda that even cessation is a particular activity, and that, too, may be for the purpose of one's own protection." (*RTS*. ch. 29, p, 1045). Vedānta Deśika relies heavily on *śāstraic* injunctions to do *prapatti* much as any other injunction, interpreting the "*Śaraṇam vraja*" of the *Caramaśloka* to enjoin not merely a mental affirmation of the Lord as the *upāya*, but a concomitant *performance* of *prapatti* or *bharanyāsa* (surrendering of the burden of self-protection). This surrender is a positive act no less than a sacrificial performance, and like these it involves *aṅgas* or auxiliaries.[1]

Based on the arising of the *jīva's* knowledge, will and effort in this performance, the Lord becomes exceedingly pleased and grants the fruit of salvation. Vedānta Deśika affirms that the Lord is the only agent as far as granting the fruit is concerned, and thus he is the primary means of *siddhopāya*. But since he awaits the *jīva's* action, in order to preserve His own egalitarianism and the *jīva's* independence which He has given him, there is no harm in recognizing the performance of *prapatti* as a *sādhyopāya*. Whereas the Teṅkalai authors interpret the *ekam* of the *Caramaśloka* (*mām ekam śaraṇam vraja*) to exclude *jīvakartṛtva* and *upāyatva* from *prapatti*, Vedānta Deśika does not go so far. In line with his view of renunciation of *kartṛtva* as meditation on the Lord's

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[1] Based on the *Lakṣmī Tantra* (Ch. 17) and *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* (ch. 37) Vedānta Deśika interprets *prapatti* or *ātmanikṣepa* (self-surrender) to have five *aṅgas*—(1) *ānukūlya saṅkalpa*, desire to do what is pleasing to the Lord, (2) *prātikūlyavarjana*, avoidance of what is displeasing (3) *kārpaṇya*, destitution or helplessness; (4) *mahāviśvāsa* great faith, and (5) *goptṛtvavaraṇa*, choosing the Lord as the protector (*RTS*. ch. 11). The Teṅkalai authors resist calling these *aṅgas* in the case of *prapatti* for salvation. They refer to them rather as *sambhavitasvabhāvas*, meaning characteristics which arise spontaneously in the process of *prapatti*, "like sweat when pounding (rice)" (Maṇavāḷamāmuni, on *SVB*. 57). Their works devote little attention to this list. For them there is only one *aṅga* to *prapatti*—relinquishing of all *dharmas* as stated in the *Caramaśloka*. But since this is a non-act involving cessation of effort, it is not an *aṅga* in the proper sense; and thus the principle "whatever has *aṅgas* is an *upāya*" does not apply here to make *prapatti* an *upāya*. (*SVB*. Comm. 56).

ultimate agency, he says that the purpose of the *ekam* is to remind the *jīva* that the *sādhyopāya* he performs is not to be considered on par with the Lord who is the *siddhopāya* for the fruit of *mokṣa*. But the *ekam* does not entirely exclude *jīvakartṛtva* or *prapatti's upāyatva* in favour of the Lord's *kartṛtva* and *upāyatva*.

> (Some people) say the word *ekam*, which has many meanings such as primary, other, sole, etc., is here a synonym for *kevala*, meaning exclusivity, and that because of the fulness of qualities in the *śaraṇya* (Lord), it precludes (the *jīva's*) self-independence (*svātantrya*). The reason for (saying) this is (as follows: One who is directed by the śāstra performs acts of winning over (the Lord) (*Vaśīkaraṇa*) which are instrumental in his own self-protection. He (thus) demonstrates *kartṛtva* in protection on his part, too. Therefore, (one might) think of oneself as an *upāya* equal to the *śaraṇya* who is the *siddhopāya*. The word *ekam* excludes there being two *upāyas* which might result in this way. If it be asked why this is excluded: even though the *jīva's kartṛtva* is authoritative, as it is said, '*kartā śāstrārthavattvāt*' (*BS*. 2.3.33), this (*jīvakartṛtva*) is dependent, of little scope, and liable to obstruction. Therefore even when he himself (*jīva*) does the performance of this *upāya*, as it is said, 'without your grace, indeed, O Varada, even the utterance of (taking) refuge would not arise from me,' (*Varadarājastava*, 38). Since it comes about by his notice (*kaṭākṣa*) one is instigated by Him alone; while He aids, one performs the *upāya* that He has showed, by means of the limbs and organs given by Him, which cannot even be stretched out without His co-operation, and (then) looks up open-mouthed like a *cātaka* bird for the fruit that he gives. (Therefore) this word *ekam* states that it is not appropriate for the discriminating *mumukṣu* to think of himself as a second *siddhopāya* equal with the One whose self-dependent *kartṛtva* is without obstruction in regard to all objects. (*RTS*. ch. 29, p. 1077).

Vedānta Deśika further clarifies that this exercise of the *jīva's* god-given independent *kartṛtva* in salvation is not in conflict with the soul's dependent nature. Here too he clearly has the Teṅkalai authors in mind when he writes:

> Some people say, 'Isn't it so that only to one who is independent (*svantantra*) can some thing be enjoined by another? For the *adhikārī* (qualified *jīva*) who has learned in the spiritual *śāstras* and in the *mūlamantra* (*Tirumantra*) of his extreme *pāratantrya*, how can he be enjoined to do anything? . . .
>
> (Reply:) This is said without consideration of the limits of *pāratantrya*. . . . As affirmed in the *Vedānta* (*Sūtras*), '*kartā śāstrārthavattvāt*' and '*parāttu tacchruteḥ*', even though his *kartṛtva* is dependent on the Lord, there is no fault in enjoining something to him. . . . TAKING AND BEARING THIS MUCH *SVĀTANTRYA* IS THE LIMIT OF *PĀRATANTRYA* (emphasis mine, *RTS*. ch. 29, p. 1099).

Thus he concludes, "For he who is the *śeṣa* and who is dependent, it is no fault to do activity for his own protection." (*RTS*. ch 25, p 700).

Summary

Thus the Teṅkalai author's denial of *jīvakartṛtva* and *upāyatva* in *prapatti* may be seen as developing out of (1) the renunciation of *kartṛtva*, fruits, and *upāyatva* and their attribution to Īśvara as seen in Rāmānuja's *Gītābhāṣya*, and (2) the idea of the Lord's causation or instigation in matters of salvation as a special case, as developed by Sudarśana Sūri from Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya* and *Vedārthasaṅgraha*. By positing extreme *pāratantrya* as the soul's true nature, and asserting that *prapatti* involves a cessation of effort in self-protection in line with this *pāratantrya*, they are able to affirm renunciation of *jīvakartṛtva* in *prapatti*, as a fact and not a mere meditation. Since the Lord is the only active agent in salvation by *prapatti*, the Teṅkalai authors deny that *prapatti*, is an act or *upāya* of the *jīva*.

Vedānta Deśika's view can be seen as developing out of an emphasis on the philosophical affirmation of *jīvakartṛtva* seen in the *Śrībhāṣya* and *Vedārthasaṅgraha*. Asserting the *jīva's* independent *kartṛtva* as developed by Sudarśana Sūri, to be absolutely inherent to the soul's nature, Vedānta Deśika clearly explicates that renunciation of *jīvakartṛtva* only means a mental reflection on its ultimate dependency of the Lord. Thus he affirms the validity of *jīvakartṛtva* in the performance of *upāyas* to salvation—*bhaktiyoga* and *prapatti*—as in all other activities.

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MuMu. Piḷḷai Lokācārya. *Mumukṣuppaḍi* with Maṇavāḷamāmuṇi's commentary. Ed. and Pub. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Trichy, Tamil Nadu.

TaTr. *Tattvatraya*, with Maṇavāḷamāmuni's commentary, in *Śrīmad Varavaramunīndra Granthamālā* (above).

SVB. *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇa*, with Maṇavāḷamāmuni's commentary Ed. P. Raghavaramacharya, Pub. R. Rajagopal Naidu, Madras, Celvarangan Press, 1936.

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Note : Though citations in the form given are my own translations, I wish to acknowledge the guidance of several published translations : M. R. Sampathkumaran's translation of Rāmānuja's *Gītābhāṣya* (M. Rangacharya Memorial Trust, Madras, 1969) ; M. Rangacharya and M. B. Varadaraja Aiyangar's translation of the *Vedānta Sūtras* with the *Śrībhāṣya of Rāmānujācārya* (Educational Publishing Co., Madras, 1961) ; Robert C. Lester's translation of *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇa* of Piḷḷai Lokācārya, (Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, 1979) ; M. R. Rajagopala Aiyangar's translation of *Śrīmad Rahasyatrayasāra* of Vedānta Deśika (Pub. Agnihotram Rāmānuja Thāthāchāriār, Salem, 1956) ; M. B. Narasimha Iyengar's translations of Piḷḷai Lokācārya's *Mumukṣuppaḍi* (Educational Publishing Co., Madras, 1962) and *Tattvatraya* (Pub. M. C. Krishnan, Madras, 1960).

134. Prapattyupāyattukku ikkuṟṟaṅkaḷoṉṟumillai.

134. As to the *Prapatti upāya* there are none of these deficiencies.

135. Ātmayātātmyajñānakāryamākaiyālē, svarūpattukku ucitamumāy. "ciṟṟavēṇṭa" eṉkiṟapaṭiyē nivrutti sātyamākaiyālē sukaramumāyirukkum.

135. Being as it (*prapatti*) is, the effect of the soul's nature and suitable to the essential nature, it is easy, since it is accomplished by renunciation alone; as in the saying, "There is no need to be perplexed."

* * * * *

146. Sarvāparātaṅkaḷukkum prāyaścittamāṉa prapattitāṉum aparātakōṭiyilēyāy kṣāmaṇam paṇṇavēṇṭumpaṭi nillānintratiṟē.

146. *Prapatti*, itself an expiation for all kinds of faults, is itself a fault in need of pardon.

Prapatti, performed as a means, although it is an act of surrender to the Lord, betrays an element of self-assertion, contrary to simple renunciation of all effort.

147. Naṭunāḷ anyaparaiyāyp pōnta pāryai lajjāpayaṅkaḷiṉṟikkē partrusakācattilē niṉṟu eṉṉaiyaṅkīkarikkavēṇumeṉṟa-pēkṣikkumāpōlē yiruppateṉṟiṟē yivaṉ paṇṇum prapatti.

147. This one's performance of *prapatti* (as a means) is like a wife, who, after having gone in devotion to anothe (man) for a long time, approaches her husband, without shame or fear, and says, "Take me to your side."

134-5; 146-7 *śrīvacana Būṣaṇa* of Pillai Lokācārya, Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute Ed. 1979 pp. 64, 48-9.

Tamil Movement in S'rīvaiṣṇavism

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Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, the two important strands of Hindu Thought have seen a unique growth in Tamil Nadu after the advent of Āḷvārs and Nāyaṉmārs on the scene. Though these two religions draw their source from Sanskrit texts like the *Upaniṣads*, the *Purāṇas*, the *Itihāsas* and the *Āgamas*, the contribution of the Tamil hymnal literature of the Āḷvārs and Nāyaṉmārs to their growth is no less impressive.

In the Sanskritic pantheon all the Vedic gods became subservient to *Brahmā*, *Viṣṇu* and *Rudra-Śiva* in the first step and in course of time, probably towards the close of the Purāṇic period *Brahmā* became a non-entity. Correspondingly in the Tamil tradition, among the five deities *Murukaṉ*, *Tirumāl*, *Intira*, *Varuṇa* and *Kāḷī* belonging to five geographical areas of *Kuriñci*, *Mullai*, *Marutam*, *Neital* and *Pālai*, the worship of *Murukan* and *Kāḷī* gave place to the worship of *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* (*Śakti*) and the worship of *Tirumāl* (as *Kṛṣṇa*) evolved into Śrīvaiṣṇavism of the present day. The *Paripāṭal* is a rich source of information regarding the popularity of Vaiṣṇavism in the early Tamil country. (VIDE: Canka-kālat-tamiḻar Samayam by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, 3, Puthur Agraharam, Tirucchirappalli-17).

In spite of the fact that Vaiṣṇavism had a sound Tamil basis, the influence of Sanskrit in the religious practices and philosophical discussions seems to have been very pronounced. The Vedic Brahmans being the custodians of divine as well as secular knowledge were Ministers and Generals to local rulers and hence the Vedic practices continued to hold sway on the elite, the leaders of the community and the worship of the local deities existed side by side. So it was more or less a Brahmanic culture which was at the bottom of the evolution of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. This was probably the condition of Tamil Nadu till around the 8th or 9th century.

Even though the Cankam literature is admittedly secular, traces of the influence of Sanskrit are discernible there. But the post-Cankam period discloses a clear influence of Sanskrit on the royal administration, on Tamil language and literature and on the philosophical and religious thought processes.[1] The Pallavas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Imperial Colas encouraged Sanskrit in a greater or lesser degree and there is plenty of

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[1] "Contribution of Tamil Nadu to Sanskrit Epigraphy," R. Nagaswamy. *Proc. of the First International Sanskrit Conference* (pp. 421-6). Ministry of Education, Government of India, New Delhi. (1975).

epigraphical evidence to this[1] Tamil does not seem to have regained its importance seen in the Cankam Age till the end of the Cola period viz., the beginning of the 13th century A.D. All the Āḻvārs refer to temples and the deities installed in them. This temple culture which is based on Āgamic literature was exclusively Sanskritic to begin with, obviously because the entire Āgamic literature is in Sanskrit. The names of the deities were in pure Tamil as celebrated in the Hymns but these names were literally translated into Sanskrit subsequently as in the case of the following names.

TAMIL	SANSKRIT
Makaraṇetunkuḻaikkātar	Makarāyatakarṇapāśa
Māyakkūttaṉ	Coranāṭya
Vaittamāniti	Nikṣepavitta
Ārāvamutu	Aparyāptāmṛta
Peruntevi	Bṛhannāyikā
Tevapperumāḷ	Devādhirāja

In the case of Tamil lexicography, the first lexicon was completed by *Tivākara* in the 9th cent. A.D. Next came *Piṅkalam* by *Piṅkala* in the 10th cent. Here one comes across many Sanskrit *Tatsama* words and the pattern itself agrees with that of early Sanskrit lexicons. During the following three centuries (11th to 13th) there seems to be no lexicographical activity till the emergence of *Uriccol Nikaṇṭu* by *Kāṅkeyar* in the 14th cent. Thereafter nearly a score of Tamil lexicons were produced between the 15th and 19th centuries.[2] The absence of lexicographical activity between the 11th and the 13th centuries can be taken as a strong indication to the absence of Tamil fervour during that period.

Even with the limited independence of Tamil, the Hymns of the Āḻvārs have established that complex philosophical and theological ideas can be expressed through pure Tamil. I shall confine myself to giving a few examples of the above achievement.

'maṉaṉakamalamaṟa malarmicaieḻutarum
maṉaṉuṇarvaḷavilaṉ poṟiyuṇarvavaiyilaṉ
iṉaṉuṇarmuḻunalam etirnikaḻkaḻiviṉum
iṉanilaṉeṉaṉuyir mikunaraiyilaṉe'

(*Tiruvāimoḻi* 1.1.21)

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[1] Rājarāja Coḷa I (1018-1054) is known to have performed an Aśvamedha. The succeeding Coḷa Kings and some Pāṇḍyan Rulers seem to have patronised Āryam and Tamil without discrimination till about 13th cent.

[2] *Tamiḻ Ilakkiya Varalāṟu* (10th cent.) M. Arunachalam, Gandhi Vidyalayam. Tiruchitrambalam, Mayuram, Tanjore Dist., (1972).

Here the nature of God is described as being incomprehensible for the mind or the sense organs, as being in the form of Bliss and Knowledge and as being incomparable in the past, present and future.

The lines,

> ' uṭalmicaiyuireṇakkarantenkum parantu-uḷaṉ
> cuṭar mikucurutiyuḷ '
>
> (ibid, 1.1.7)

bring out the main tenet of the Viśiṣṭādvaita philosophy viz., the *Śarīra-śarīri-bhāva.*

We find the use of the logical term 'abhāva' which is one of the seven *padārthas*, to prove the existence of God, in the lines,

> ' Uḷaṉeṉiluḷaṉ avaṉuruvam ivvuruvukaḷ
> ulaṉalaṉeṉil avaṉaruvam ivvaruvukaḷ '
>
> (ibid. 1.1.9)

The Lord being different from sentience and non-sentience and being possessed of innumerable immaculate qualities is conveyed in the lines,

> ' Illatumuḷḷatum allatavaṉuru
> ellayilannalam . . . . '
>
> (ibid. 1.2.4)

It was Nāthamuni (C. 9th cent. A.D.) who discovered the lost Hymns of the Āḷvārs and with the help of his two nephews set them to music and popularised them through mass recitation and musical recitation in the temples. This being the greatest achievement in his life-time it is unfair for any critic to say that he did not contribute much to the re-emergence of Tamil notwithstanding his yogic pre-occupations. He is credited with three eulogistic stanzas in Sanskrit and one in Tamil (*Taṉiyaṉs*)[1]. His son Īśvaramuni is credited with one stanza in Tamil.[2] The other disciples of Nāthamuni Uyyakkoṇṭār (Puṇḍarīkākṣa)[3] and Maṇakkālnampi (Śrīrāmamiśra)[4] are credited with two Tamil *Taṉiyaṉs* each. Yāmuna is credited with one disputed *Taṉiyaṉ* in Tamil while the other (Sanskrit) is taken from his *Stotraratna*. But in the commentaries there are frequent references to his interpretations of *Tiruvāimoḷi* and some of them were questioned by Rāmānuja. At least one such instance is recorded through communal memory.[5]

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[1] One Sanskrit verse each at the beginning of *Periyāḷvār Tirumoḷi* and *Tiruvāimoḷi* and one Sanskrit verse and a Tamil stanza at the beginning of *Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu.*

[2] At the beginning of *Tiruvāimoḷi.*

[3] At the beginning of *Tiruppāvai.*

[4] At the beginning of *Tiruviruttam.*

[5] *The Theology of Rāmānuja* by J. B. Carman, Yale University Press (1974) pp. 210-11 and 248-9.

Traditionally it is believed that Yāmuna was instrumental in accommodating Sanskrit scriptural meaning with the Tamil Hymns of the Āḷvārs considered as Tamil Veda. In other words he was the promulgator of the Ubhayavedānta system. This system was the first step towards conferring a better status on Tamil. Nāthamuni is the first preceptor to equate the Hymns of Nammāḷvār to *Upaniṣads* setting the pace for conferring on Tamil a status on par with Sanskrit. Thus upto the beginning of the 11th century there were feeble attempts at raising the status of Tamil. All the same, in the religious field the Tamil fervour seems to have been kept up, if not kindled during this period.

Some Indian and Western scholars are of opinion that Rāmānuja was not influenced by the Āḷvārs and that he was ignorant of Tamil or at least was not quite proficient in it. That he was not only learned in Tamil but was proficient enough to write Tamil poems is proved by a few *Taṉiyaṉ*-s current now. Four such *Taṉiyaṉ*-s are accepted as Rāmānuja's beyond doubt and the authorship of one is disputed.[1] Four Tamil stanzas of Rāmānuja place him in a better position as a champion of Tamil than *Nāthamuni* and others. The fact that the authorship of one stanza is disputed indicates that the ascription of authorship to others is not spurious. Rāmānuja is regarded by the later Ācāryas, as one who heavily drew from the hymnal lore of the Āḷvārs. An anecdote is related regarding how Rāmānuja was able to fix the most intimate quality of the soul on the Viśiṣṭādvaitic lines.[2] In one of his tutorial lectures, a discussion arose among his disciples as to which of the three qualities of the soul-viz. Bliss, Knowledge and Dependence, is the most intimate to it. Rāmānuja sent Kūreśa to Śrīgoṣṭhīpūrṇa (Tirukkoṭṭiyūr Nampi) to get clarification. After a long wait of six months the teacher instructed Kūreśa the phrase '*atiyēṉuḷḷāṉ uṭaluḷḷāṉ*' (*Tiruvāimoḷi* 8.8.2). Kūreśa conveyed the instruction to Rāmānuja who in turn explained to his disciples that Dependence upon the Lord is the most intimate quality of the soul because the term '*aṭiyēṉ*' (my most humble self) contrasted with '*uṭal*' conveys not merely the self or soul but the one qualified by extreme humility. Even though this important meaning derived from Nammāḷvār's Hymn is not incorporated in *Śrībhāṣya* under *Jñānādhikaraṇa*[3] we find this repeated many times in his comm. on *Bhagavad Gītā*.[4] There are many instances of Āḷvārs' subtle influence on the interpretation of Rāmānuja in his works.[5] Apart from the inconspicuous way in which the Tamil Hymns were held in esteem, Rāmānuja recommends, in his *Nityagrantha*, to the recitation of the Hymns of the Āḷvārs on two

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[1] One (disputed) at the beginning of *Perumāḷ Tirumoḷi*, one at the beginning of *Periya Tirumoḷi*, one at the beginning of *Periya Tiruvantāti* and two at the beginning of *Tiruveḷukūṟṟirukkai*.

[2] Īḍu (36000 comm) on *Tiruvaimoḷi* 8.8.2.

[3] 'Jño 'ta eva'—*Brahmasūtra* 2.3.14.

[4] Maccheṣataikarasātmayāthātmyajñānavān—Rāmānuja's comm. on Bh. G. 7.19. Bhagavaccheṣataikarasātmasvarūpavit ibid. 7. 16.

[5] Vide *Dramiḍopaniṣadprabhāvasarvasva* by P. B. Annangaracharya. Kanchipuram (1954).

occasions—one before the offering of food to the Deity and another, after it.[1] The first *Maṇipravāḷa* comm. on *Tiruvāimoḷi* (called *Āṛāyirappaṭi* or 6000) was written during the time of Rāmānuja at his behest by Kurukeśa (Tirukkurukaippirāṇ Piḷḷāṇ). Even though this comm. is very brief and is supercharged with Sanskrit terms and constructions, a new dimension was nevertheless conferred on Tamil as this paved the way for a large number of commentaries gradually improving their Tamil content. Rāmānuja's interest in the Tamil tradition becomes thus evident although more evidence cannot be presented in this short paper.

An Advaitic scholar by name Vedānti who was converted to Śrīvaiṣṇavism by Parāśara Paṭṭar became a samnyāsi and was fondly addressed by his teacher as '*nam cīyar*' (our samnyasi). Thereafter he was known as Nañcīyar. He wrote a *Maṇipravāḷa* comm. containing 9000 granthas[2] (on *patiṇāyirappaṭi*) and this is second comm. on *Tiruvāimoḷi*. He was the first person to record the controversy about Tamil (as opposed to Sanskrit) being used for philosophical discussions. The objections to Tamil Hymns becoming words of authority are:

1. They are in a language prohibited (for metaphysical deliberations).
2. Both women and Śūdras handle it (the language).
3. The Hymns were composed by one born in the fourth caste (Nammāḷvār).
4. They are of local origin and not from outside.
5. The Hymns are studied even by the heterodox people.
6. The Hymns speak of love proscribed by *Śruti-s* and *Smṛti-s*.
7. They attach least importance to *aiśvarya* and *kaivalya*.

The above objections are answered in the following manner:

1. (a) The prohibition regarding the use of a language other than Sanskrit applies only to non-theological topics.

(b) If the (Sanskrit) language is the criterion, then one has to study all non-vaidic *Śāstra-s* also.

2. Āḷvārs out of boundless compassion presented Vedic concepts through Tamil so that women and Śūdras ineligible to the study of Vedas may also benefit.

3. The Hymns originated from the Āḷvār who had the rare fortune of being sought after by the Lord, who was the recipient of His continued grace, who was

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[1] 'Śrutisukhai(h) *stotrai*(h) stutvā' and 'Śrutisukhai(h) Stotrai(h) abhiṣṭutya . . .'; *Nityagrantha*.

[2] A grantha which is equated to a 'paṭi' is a group of 32 letters corresponding almost to the Anuṣṭubh metre in Sanskrit. There are three other comm.—12,000 paṭi, 24,000 paṭi and 36,000 paṭi.

competent in understanding and teaching *Tattva, Hita* and *Puruṣārtha* and who held a place of honour among Śabarī, Vidura etc.

4. The Hymns resulted in the increase of good men all over, causing a sense of loss in those honourable men of other languages.

5. The benefit is so inviting that even heterodox men take to their study.

6. *Bhakti,* which is termed as *Vedana* or *Upāsana* in *Upaniṣads* is treated as *(Bhagavat-)Kāma.*

7. *Aiśvarya* and *Kaivalya* are condemned because of their insignificance and impermanence contrasted with the supreme greatness of the Lord.

On the other hand the learned and the noble have accepted the Hymns as superior Authority for, they

1. establish the Lord without beating about the bush,
2. generate *bhakti,*
3. nourish it when once generated,
4. cause supreme pleasure when listened to,
5. handle the Vedas as evidence in their dealings,
6. hold Brahman as the *causa causum* and,
7. declare the knowledge of Brahman as the means of salvation.

The above objections and answers dealt with elaborately in the 9000 indicate a change in trend. The controversy between Sanskrit enthusiasts and Tamils has surfaced now. Tamil seems to score a point over Sanskrit but the Sanskrit base for Hindu theology being quite strong, it is going to be a long-drawn battle. One should not miss in this context that the language controversy was only a cover for the caste problem. How can revelations emanate from a person of the fourth caste and that too in Tamil? Naturally this is a two-sided problem which has to be tackled *in toto.* Solving one side of the problem does not solve it at all. Well, this is how Nañcīyar, the author of 9000, Kṛṣṇasūri alias Periyavāccāṉ Piḷḷai, the author of 24,000 both belonging to the 12th cent. and Śrīkṛṣṇapāda alias Vaṭakkutiruvīti-ppiḷḷai the author of 36,000 belonging to the next century argue in this context.[1] The text of the objections and answers is unaltered in all these three commentaries. Kṛṣṇasūri remarks in a different context that Lord Raṅganātha is reclining with his posterior side facing North in order to reform the cantankerous Sanskritists.[2] The import is, since the Lord's posterior appearance is much more charming than His anterior view the Lord wishes to attract the antagonists towards Him by His charm. Here no contempt towards Sanskritsts is implied though some take

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[1] Introductory part of the Commentaries to *Tiruvaimoḷi.* 1.1.1.

[2] Comm. on *Tiṛumālai*-stanza. I9.

the passage in that sense. Thus it becomes clear that upto 13th cent. the Ācāryas could only argue in defence of Tamil without, probably, much tangible result. No commentator seems to have bothered himself with the problem of the caste of one more Āḷvār-Tiruppāṇ Āḷvār—an untouchable by birth. All the above arguments and counter-arguments concern themselves with Nammāḷvār and his Hymns. Either the consideration was that it would be difficult to argue for a status for an untouchable or that the problem should be tackled in stages.

To the next generation (14th cent.) belongs Aḷakia-maṇavāḷapperumāḷ Nāyaṇār (hereafter referred to as Nāyaṇār) the younger brother of Pīḷḷai Lokācārya and the son of Śrīkṛṣṇapāda, the author of 36,000. Lokācārya was a radical in the sense that he maintained that a *Bhāgavata* is above caste-considerations. According to him inquiring into the caste of a *Bhāgavata* is more sinful than inquiring into the raw-material of the Lord's icon.[1] Lokācārya did not busy himself with the language controversy. But Nāyaṇār is very forceful in his remarks concerning the position of Nammāḷvār's Hymns vis-a-vis the Sanskrit Scripture. Nāyaṇār who has written many comm.[2] is celebrated as the author of *Ācāryahṛdayam*[3], a *maṇipravāḷa* work in rhyming language with the minimum of Sanskrit words. The work, the purpose of which is to bring out the inner meaning of *Tiruvāimoḷi* is a *tour-de-force* in the sense that almost all the words are taken from the Hymns of the Āḷvārs and the author's orginality lies in stringing these words syntactically.

The work starts off with a discussion on *Śāstra-s* conferred on humanity by the Lord. The materialistic and metaphysical works are both intended to do good ultimately, the former becoming instrumental in developing a faith in the latter gradually. But the Lord out of compassion revealed the Holy Mantra, the essence of all *Śāstra-s*. Those who turn to the *Śāstra-s* are termed as *Pravṛttipara* or *Karmapara* and those that adopt Holy Mantra are termed as *Nivṛttipara* or *Kaiṅkaryapara*. Contrasting these two categories Nāyaṇār discusses at length on the parity of the Sanskrit scripture with the Hymns of Nammāḷvār.

Those Brahmins who adhere to the Vedic injunctions only, are termed as *Śāstri*, *Varṇadharmi*, *Antaṇar*, *Maṟaiyōr* and *Vipra* and these are contrasted with those who resort to Tamil Revelations who are termed as *Sārajña*, *Dāsavṛtti*, *Aṭiyār*, *Toṇṭar* and *Prapanna*.[4] If the former group takes pride in their *gotra*, *caraṇa* and *sūtra* as that of

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[1] *Śrīvacanabhūṣaṇa* by Pillai Lokācārya-Sūtras 194-197.

[2] Six-thousand grantha comm. on *Tiruppāvai*, a similar comm. on all *Tiruvantāti-s*, a comm. on *Kaṇṇinuṇciṟuttāmpu* and *Aruḷicceyalrahasyam*.

[3] 234 cūrṇikas divided into four prakaraṇas.

[4] In this context the Commentator Maṇavāḷamāmuni refers to the following incident which happened at Tiruvāhindrapuram—

A few brahmins were bathing in a bathing ghat, while one was bathing in a different ghat. When questioned by the brahmins why he (named as Villuputtūr

Parāśara, Vyāsa and Bodhāyana respectively the latter group can equally take pride in having Parāṅkuśa (Nammāḷvār), Parakāla (Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār) and Yativara (Rāmānuja) and others for their *gotra, caraṇa* and *sūtra.* If the former category attains *Brahmaṇya* through Vedic study and practice the latter attains Śrīvaiṣṇava-hood through the study and practice of the thousand metrical hymns of *Tiruvāimoḷi.* Nāyaṇār remarks that those who have not mastered the Tamil scripture would be considered as inferior Brahmins outside the scope of the four Vedas.

After preparing the ground thus, Nāyaṇār ingeniously argues that the hymns of Nammāḷvār constitute Tamil Scripture and that it is on par with Sanskrit Scripture.

His arguments presented in his *Ācāryahṛdayam* are :

(Bracketed numbers indicate the serial number of the aphorisms).

1. Vedas are many and varied (*anantā vai vedā(h)* and that Tamil Veda is one variety (39).

2. As the Vedas are divided into four based on the structure of each they can be divided on the basis of language like Sanskrit and Tamil (40).

3. The Dravidian language propagated by Agastya is equally ancient (as it has been equated with Sanskrit by Tirumangaī Āḷvār) [1] (41).

4. The usage *Vaṭamoḷimaṛai* implies a *Tenmoḷimaṛai* (42).

5. *Tiruviruttam, Tiruvāciriyam, Tiruvāimoḷi* and *Periyatiruvantāti* (all by Namm.) are equivalent to *Ṛk, Yajus, Sāma* and *Atharva Vedas* [2] (50).

6. As *Ṛk*, expanded into *Sāma*, *Tiruviruttam* expanded into *Tiruvāimoḷi.* (51).

7. The six *Vedāṅgas* are the six compositions of Tirumaṅgai Āḷvār and the *Upāṅgas* are the compositions of the remaining eight Āḷvārs. Logically, like the Vedas, the works of Namm. are the main (43-44).

8. Both the Scriptures (Tamil and Sanskrit) are termed as *Nūl*, considered as Divine Command, are free from human defect (*apauruṣeya*), are sweet to hear, are true and are beginningless and endless (45).

9. Utterance by Āḷvār is of the same status as the Veda revealed by Brahmā (Svayambhū) (46) and both happen periodically (at every Kalpa) (48).

10. The terms *Ṛṣi, Muni* and *Kavi* apply equally to Vedic seers and Namm.(47).

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pakavar) was not mixing with them he replied that while he, a servant of Viṣṇu was given to a life of service he could not mix with them who were brahmins observing the conduct of Varṇa. (Viṣṇudāsā vayam yūyam brāhmaṇā varṇa-dharmiṇa(h) / asmākam dāsavṛttīnām yuṣmākam nāsti saṅgati(h) //)

[1] Tiruneḍuntāṇṭakam, line 3. stanza 4.
Also compare *Dramiḍopaniṣadtātparyaratnāvalī*—Intr. V. 4.

[2] Cf ibid. V. 5.

11. Like *Ātharvaṇa*, *Taittirīya*, *Kāṇva* etc., associated with certain seers, association of Tamil scripture with Śaṭhakopa is permissible (49).

12. *Tiruvāimoḷi* begins with A-U-M (But the three letters are arranged as U.M.A.) and the two letters U and T of Udgīthapraṇava are placed at the beginning and the end of the work especially (52). (This characteristic equates *Tiruvāimoḷi* with *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* attached to *Sāma Veda*).

13. The ingredients of Sanskrit scripture like *udātta*, *anudātta*, *svarita*, *pada*, *krama* etc., are matched by *Eḷuttu*, *acai*, *cīr*, *aṭi*, *toṭai* etc., of Tamil Hymns (69).

14. The Sanskrit scripture was recast into Tamil to suit the worship of the iconic form of the Lord.

BOOK OF AUTHORITY	STATE OF THE LORD
Veda (Sanskrit)	*Para* form
Pāñcarātra (Āgamas)	*Vyūha* form
Manusmṛti etc. (Smṛti literature)	*Antaryāmi* form
Itihāsas and *Purāṇas*	*Vibhava* form
Divya Prabandha (Tamil Veda)	Iconic (*Arcā*) form

After thus establishing parity between Sanskrit scripture and Tamil scripture, Nāyaṇār steps up his arguments setting out the superiority of Tamil scripture over Sanskrit scripture.

The Sanskrit scripture is comparable to salty occean as both have certain controlling factors like the appropriate time (for recitation and for bath) and the suitability of the person (to study and to bathe). But the utterances of Namm. are like the sweet water from the clouds usable by all without discrimination (72).

The Sanskrit scripture is like the mud pot which, though held sacred, can be handled only by the pure while the Tamil scripture is similar to the golden pot which can be handled by all without fear of pollution (The greater value of the golden pot is also implied here) (73).

Nāyaṇār next compares Sanskrit scripture with Tamil scripture on the basis of the caste and the place of birth of the authors and on the basis of the degree of success brought by the scriptures. He feels that inquiring into the caste of Namm. is equal to inquiring into the raw - material of the (household) icon. If Sanskrit language is the criterion then all avaidic Sanskrit works become acceptable; if caste is the consideration the *Mahābhārata* composed by Vyāsa, the son of a fisher-woman and *Bhagavad Gītā* addressed by Kṛṣṇa the cowherd would have to be disregarded (75-76). The birth place of Vyāsa and that of Kṛṣṇa were characterised by the foul smell of fish and the stench of butter, while the birth-place of Namm., was characterised by the sweet aroma of *Tulasī*

(Ocimum Sanctum) (79). The dense darkness (of ignorance) which could not be removed either by the ordinary sun, by the sun of Rāma (*Rāmadivākara*) or by the sun of Kṛṣṇa (Acyutabhānu) got removed by the rise of the sun of Namm. (Vakulabhūṣaṇa-bhāskara) (83).

Nāyaṉār thus strives hard to impress that the Tamil Hymns of Namm. are in no way inferior to the Sanskrit scripture but in many respects superior. He also stresses simultaneously that caste can never be the status-symbol in the field of devotion.

Vedānta Deśika (1268-1369 A.D.) a younger contemporary of Nāyaṉār was a puritan in regard to the caste system but he seems to have relaxed his views in his later years. He strongly feels that the characteristics of caste would never elide from a person however great he may be as the 'cow-ness' shall not elide even in the case of the divine cow.[1] According to him some Āḷvārs though born in the lower castes, are great by themselves and like Vidura and Dharmavyādha should be taken as exceptions rather than as a rule and things cannot be standardised on their basis.[2] But with regard to Tamil as a language of revelation his views appear to be comparatively liberal. He is of the opinion that even a non-Sanskrit Language (Tamil) is acceptable in the matter of Divine Science.[3] His regard for *Divyaprabandha* is no less pronounced than that of any other Ācārya. His *Dramiḍopaniṣadtātparyaratnāvalī* is an unshakable evidence of his regard for Tamil scripture and of his scholarship in it.[4] Vedānta Deśika declares that the unclear parts of the Vedas became clear to him only after his study of the Tamil scripture.[5] He calls himself '*cantamiku tamiḻmaṟayaiyon*'. His *Amṛtāsvādinī* records his singular devotion to Namm.

Śrīnivāsadāsa (C. 16th cent) the author of the Manual of Viśiṣṭādvaita, *Yatīndra-matadīpikā* lists the texts of Authority under the chapter on *Śabda.* He groups all the Sanskrit authorities from Vedas upto the sixty-four kalas and calls them third-degree Authority. The utterances of Āḷvārs are considered second-degree Authority, and the compositions of Ācāryas like Rāmānuja, first-degree Authority.[6] Since the works of the Ācāryas are based on the Hymns of Āḷvārs, ranking the former as more authoritative than the latter does not mean that the Tamil-Hymns are second-rate *Pramāṇas.* Probably Śrīnivāsadāsa follows the popular feeling that the later an author is, the greater is his authority.[7]

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[1] *Rahasyatrayasāra* - Prabhāvavyavasthādhikāra

[2] Ibid.

[3] Sampradāyapariśuddhi.

[4] 'Tamil as a vehicle of Revolution' by Dr. K. K. A. Venkatachari (Paper read at the Fifth Internationl Tamil Conference).

[5] *Adhikārasaṁgraha*-1.

[6] *Yatīndramatadīpikā* by Śrinivāsadāsa. Tr. by Swami Adidevanand, Sri Ramakrishna Math, Madras-4. (p. 47).

[7] In the field of Sanskrit Grammar, the guideline is the same. Uttarottaram munīnām prāmāṇyam.

The recitation of various portions of *Divyaprabandha* in the rituals of worship (both at home and in Temples) as found now may be dated from the time of Rāmānuja or a little earlier as he indirectly refers to the recitation of *Divyaprabandha* twice in his *Nityagrantha*.[1] The accommodation of *Divyaprabandha* in the rituals of worship must have been gradually intensified till the practices settled by about 14th or the beginning of the 15th century. In the *Mantrapuṣpa*, along with select passages from the various Sanskrit texts a stanza from first *Tiruvantātī* (53)[2] finds a place between the Purāṇic selections and the stotras. From the *Āgama* point of view this is certainly a status conferred on Tamil Hymns. Since a verse from *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* finds a place here, it is possible to surmise that the *Mantrapuṣpa* came into vogue in or after 14th century if we acquiesce in the date of *Bhāgavata* as 14th cent. It is not reasonable to suppose that this particular Hymn was interpolated in a prevalent *Mantrapuṣpa*,[3] because in temple practices once a scheme becomes current, additions or interpolations are seldom permitted.

A contemporary of Rāmānuja by name Raṅganātha alias Amudaṇār composed 108 Tamil stanzas in praise of his teacher Rāmānuja. This collection is known as *Rāmānuja Nūṟṟantāti* but the name is sternly recommended to be pronounced as *Iāmānuja Nūṟṟantati* indicating the Tamil fervour of the Śrīvaiṣṇavites.

Divyaprabandha is closely linked with the personal and community life of Śrīvaiṣṇavites. Select portions of *Divyaprabandha* collected under the title *Nityānusantānam* are recommended to be recited daily and on sacred days. A Śrīvaiṣṇavite is expected to recite at least *Tiruppaḷḷieḷucci, Tiruppaḷḷāṇṭu* and *Tiruppāvai* daily. The pure Tamil names of almost all the Ācāryas down from Rāmānuja (*Emperumāṇār* or *Uṭaiyavar*) alongside the not-so popular Sanskrit equivalents also indicate a Tamil spirit of the post-Rāmānujaite period.

Post-fourteenth century Śrīvaiṣṇava literature includes many tracts upholding the authority of *Divyaprabandha* and reconciling the Tamil and Sanskrit scriptures.

One cannot fail to notice the gradual increase in the status of Tamil in the post-Rāmānuja period if one traces the history of Śrīvaiṣṇavism. Even though Nañcīyar Kṛṣṇasūri and Kṛṣṇapāda argued vehemently for a place of honour for Tamil alongside

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[1] Vide fn. 1, p. 123.

[2] This particular stanza has been selected obviously for its stress on divine service.

[3] *Mantrapuṣpa* is recited during temple worship by respectable Śrīvaiṣṇavas with a bunch of Tulasi in their hands, after the Deity is decorated (in Alaṁkārāsana). The bunches are collected by the officiating priest and offered at the feet of the deity.

Sanskrit it was Nāyaṇār who established the supremacy of Tamil language and Tamil scripture over the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit scripture. Long before the politicians and the Tamil enthusiasts of the present century, Nāyaṇār raised his lone voice against Sanskrit supremancy in Śrīvaiṣṇava philosophy and he had a limited support from Vedānta Deśika. It should not be forgotten that all the Śrīvaiṣṇava teachers who argued for a better status for Tamil were sound scholars in Sanskrit also and that they did not abjure Sanskrit words or ideas in their writings wherever desirable.

A Critical Study of the Popular Text of the Caraka Samhitā

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The *Caraka Saṃhitā* is the most popular text of Āyurveda and it is one of the few texts of the ancient Āyurvedic compendiums which is available in complete form. Its value also lies in the fact that it is a traditional continuation of the *tantra* (treatise) composed by Agniveśa, the foremost among the six disciples of Ātreya, the great teacher and the founder of the school of medicine. Thus now it is the only representative work of that school and as such it is natural that all Āyurvedic physicians and students turn to this compendium for rational guidance and support. It is also quoted often as authority in support of their statements by scholars and writers. Hence a study of the text of this valuable basic source-material is necessary.

Because of its indispensable nature as an authoritative source-material it is read and consulted all over the country in its original form and abroad in translation in different languages. This has led to various recensions and variations of the text adopted by the respective traditions. These recensions were based on geographical factors, medical schools as well as monastic traditions. For instance, (a) There was a different recension of the text prevalent in Kashmir about which definite information is found in commentaries.[1] Saindhavas also seem to have had a recension which is referred to in the commentary of Jejjaṭa.[2] Perhaps there were also other recensions in different regions of the country.

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1 अत्र **काश्मीराः** विषवृक्षानिलस्पर्शात् इत्यादिग्रन्थं विषज्वराभिधायकं पठन्ति ।

सन्निपातज्वरस्योक्तम् इत्यादिग्रन्थमत्र **काश्मीराः** पठन्ति, स च नातिप्रसिद्धः ।

Caraka(C), Cikitsā(Ci). 3. 114-127.

काश्मीरे तु पलिकैः पिप्पलीक्षारैर्द्विप्रस्थं सर्पिषः पचेत् इत्येव पठ्यते । C. Ci. 13. 113.

काश्मीरास्तु द्वौ स्नेहौ तद्गुणौ इति पठन्ति । C. Ci. 25. 39-43.

तथा च **काश्मीरपाठे चरकः** (Madhukośa. 2. 18-19).

काश्मीरास्तु चरके (Ibid, 5. 24-27).

" विबद्धसंस्तम्भयुतं " इति **काश्मीराः** (Ibid, 14. 2).

2 **काश्मीरसैन्धव**भिषजः शाट्यादिबृहत्यादियोगो पठन्त्यस्मिन् प्रदेशे तौ चानार्षौ (C. Ci. 3. 210-214;. Also see C. Ci. 30. 127-132).

(b) Different schools of medicine had their own textual versions as suited to them.[1]

(c) Different monasteries and teachers had their own recensions of the text which were followed by their disciples. That is why we find variations in the text followed by different commentators for the purpose of their commentary. As this entails an exhaustive survey and would be a separate work, I would persent here only one instance where the famous commentators Jejjaṭa and Cakrapāṇidatta differ widely. In the context of vaginal disorders, there is a decoction of certain drugs to check the excessive discharge [2]. Here the version adopted by Jejjaṭa is quite different from that of Cakrapāṇi and is important in the sense that it introduces two altogether new drugs-*būka* and *pullāsas*, particularly the latter one because this is the only reference of this drug in the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. The scholars who consulted only the Cakrapāṇidatta's version, have missed this item.

Variations in textual versions are found even in the recent editions such as by Kaviraj Gaṅgādhara Rai and Yogīndranath Sen.

The most popular version of the text is that edited by Acharya Yādavji Trikamji and published by the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay with Cakrapāṇidatta's commentary. Yādavji has taken great pains to consult a number of manuscripts and present before the Āyurvedic world a systematically edited version of the *Caraka Saṃhitā*. It gained ground immediately after publication and scholars accepted this text warmly. Gradually it attained an authoritative status and the version given in this edition begau to be quoted as authority. The faith became so blinding that nobody could dare to make a critical study of the text so far. All later editions from other publishers virtually followed the same text. Due to its importance and influence, it was necessary to have a glimpse of the subject with unbiased attitude.

While going through the present text of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* (Nirnaya Sagar, Third edition, 1941) one is surprised to find so many errors and anomalies therein. The errors may be due to oversight in printing, editor's discretion in selecting a particular version and use of inadequate number of random manuscripts for editing. The last reason has been responsible for a number of anomalies in the text which created further confusion. Some of these points will be discussed here.

1. Caraka has said that *śarīra* (body) and *sattva* (psyche) are the locations of diseases (C. Sūtra Sthāna 1. 55) but while enumerating the *doṣas* the version is *śārīra* and *mānasa* (C. Sū. 1. 57) whereas it should have been *sāttvika* instead of *mānasa*. Although

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[1] तथा च सौश्रुता: पठन्ति - (Jejjaṭa's Com., C. Ci. 23. 250-253).

[2] करीधवनिम्बार्कबूकपुल्लासजाम्बवै: (Jejjaṭa's C. Ci. 30.82).

करीरधवनिम्बार्कवेणुकोशाम्रजाम्बवै: (Cakrapāṇi, C. Ci. 30. 82).

sattva and *manas* are synonymous, there is a slight difference in their application. In relation to health and disease, Caraka has used mostly the word *sattva*[1].

2. While classifying the drugs, Caraka has described them as of three types- *jāṅgama*, *bhauma* and *audbhida*. Further also he has used the same terms but in the present edition the editor has preferred the version *pārthiva* instead of *bhauma* which does not seem to be reasonable.

3. Caraka has mentioned latex of three plants for evacuative purposes such as *snuhī*, *arka* and *aśmantaka*-the word *kṣīra* (latex) is explicitly used with *snuhī* and *arka* but the same is absent with *aśmantaka*[2] which has led to several speculations and controversies regarding identity of the plant. Had there been *kṣīra* with *aśmantaka* it would have solved the problem to a great extent. In my opinion, the original version would have been 'वमनेऽश्मन्तकक्षीरं' instead of 'वमनेऽश्मन्तकं विद्यात्'. This is supported by the fact that the word *kṣīra* has been used more than once in this context.[3]

4. In 'मनः शिला त्वक् कुटजात् सकुष्ठात्' (C. Sū. 3.15) the word 'सकुष्ठा' would be appropriate in the place of 'सकुष्ठात्' because the root and not the bark of *kuṣṭha* is used. The present version means that the bark is to be taken of *kuṭaja* along with *kuṣṭha* which is anomalous.

5. The idea of Caraka is that only knowing the plant by name or form is not sufficient but one should also be conversant with its thereapeutic uses. Hence the version 'योगवित्त्वप्यरूपज्ञः' in the present edition (C. Sū. 1.122) is not appropriate because it does not convey the author's idea correctly.

6. In the group of anti-emetic drugs, the mention of *yaṣṭika* (C. Sū. 4.14) is not correct. It should have been *ṣaṣṭika* as corroborated by its inclusion in fatigue-alleviating drugs along with other co-read drugs (C. Sū. 4.16).

7. The reading 'षष्टिकान् शालिमुद्गांश्च' (C. Sū. 5.12) though adopted by Cakrapāṇi does not seem to be reasonable. It should be 'शालिषष्टिकमुद्गांश्च'.

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1 "शरीरमात्मा सत्त्वञ्च त्रयमेतत् त्रिदण्डवत् । (C. Sū. 1.46).
शरीरं सत्त्वसंज्ञं च व्याधीनामाश्रयो मतः । (C. Sū. 1.55)

Examination of patient's *Sattva* is one of the entities to be examined (C. Vi, 8.119). Sattvāvajaya (C. Sū. 11.54) (Psychotherapy) is one of the methods of treatment. At one place, Caraka says that *manas* associated with *doṣas rajas* and *tamas*- is known as *Sattva* (C. Sū. 25.11). *Sattva* plays an important role in formation of foetus (C. Śā. 3.3).

2 वमनेऽश्मन्तकं विद्यात् स्नुहीक्षीरं विरेचने ।
क्षीरमर्कस्य विज्ञेयं वमने सविरेचने ॥ (C. Sū. 1.115).

3 C. Sū. 1.119, 139.

8. Caraka says that even the excessively heavy diet is not capable to pacify the (digestive) fire which is fuelled by fat. Here the version in the present edition is 'स्नेहसमृद्ध' which should be more befitting as 'स्नेहसमिद्धस्य'.

9. The term *Upakrānta* has been used all through in the sense of 'treated' but at one place it is *anukrānta*[1] which seems to be an error. Similarly, at another place (C. Sū. 10.4) the editor has opted for *anuṣṭhita* instead of *upakrānta* which also is not proper.

10. In over-obesity unctuous anointings and baths have been mentioned as etiological factors. Hence in over-leanness these should be contrary to the above such as non-unctuous anointings and abstinence from bath but the present version (C. Sū. 21.12) does not convey this idea.[2]

11. *Āsīnapracalāyitam* (C. Sū. 21.50), this version even followed by Cakrapāṇi does not seem to be correct. The correct version should be '*āsinaṃ pracalāyitaṃ*'.[3]

12. In the introductory part of the chapter XXII (Sū.) 'कृताकृतातिवृत्तानां' should be corrected as 'कृताकृतातिकृतानां'.

13. The word 'dhātu' denotes normalcy and as such it does not require any medicament. Hence in the present version "तदौषधानां धातूनां" "the word धातूनां" should be replaced by "रोगाणां" as mentioned in the footnote as alternate reading.

14. Caraka has invariably followed a definite order in placing the things. Hence any deviation observed should be taken as textual error. Judging from this criterion, "स्थावरजातानां स्नेहानां" (C. Sū. 25.39) should be "स्थावरस्नेहानां"; similarly "आलुकं कन्दानां" should be placed before "निकुचं फलानाम्" (C. Sū. 25.39) because it is in contravention to the order followed in the preceding stanza.

15. "लामज्जकोशीरं" should be read as "लामज्जकोशीरे" like "रास्नागुरुणी" in the preceding sentence (C. Sū. 25.40).

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[1] 'कुशलेन त्वनुक्रान्तः क्षिप्रं संपद्यते सुखी' (C. Sū. 18.36).
tvanukrāntaḥ should be *tūpakrāntah*.

[2] Here "रूक्षस्योद्वर्तनं and स्नानस्याभ्यासः" should be substituted by "रूक्षमुद्वर्तनं" and "स्नानानभ्यासः" respectively.

[3] In अरूक्षमनभिष्यन्दि त्वासीनप्रचलायितम् "अरूक्षं" and अनभिष्यन्दि these two adjectives relate to the two words '*āsinaṃ*' and '*pracalāyitaṃ*' respectively. If we take them as one word *āsina-pracalāyitam*, the above two adjectives contrary to each other would not fit there and become anomalous.

16. "निवृत्तिः पुष्टिकराणाम्" (C. Sū. 25.40) would be more befitting as "निवृत्तिः पुष्टिकराणाम्"।

17. The word "निःसंशयकराणाम्" has been repeated [1] (C. Sū. 25.40) which has not been done in any other case and and as such it seems to be an incorrect version. In my opinion, the version at the second place should be "निर्भयकराणाम्" instead of निःसंशयकराणाम्।

18. In "हिरण्याक्षः कौशिकः" the word "कौशिक" should be read as "कुशिकः". that the name of the sage was हिरण्याक्ष कुशिक is confirmed by his reference as such in the preceding chapter [2] (C. Sū. 25.14-16). In fact, Kauśika has contradicted his views and as such must be a different person belonging to his clan or may be his son.

19. In "तत्। स्वादुर्वातलो रूक्षः" (C. Sū. 27.25) the word "तत्। स्वादुः" should be replaced by "सस्वादुः"

20. The word "जांगलचारिणः" (C. Sū. 27.55) though adopted by Cakrapāṇi does not seem to be a correct version. It should be "जंगलचारिणः" like जलचारिणः।

21. In the description of vegetables also (C. Sū. 27), Caraka has followed an order. In the end he has given the description of tubers but in the midst surprisingly the description of *sarṣapa śāka* has come in, which is definitely a later interpolation presumably by a (Punjabi ?) scholar fond of '*sarson kā sāg*'.

22. "परूषकं मधूकं च वातपित्ते च शस्यते" (C. Sū. 27.128) here the repeated use of '*ca*' does not seem to be proper. It should be "वातपित्ते प्रशस्यते"

23. "मधुराण्यम्लपाकीनि पित्तश्लेष्महराणि च" (C. Sū. 27.163) here "मधुराण्यनुपाकीनि" should be substituted for "मधुराण्यम्लपाकीनि" as indicated by Cakrapāṇi and from relevance of the context *anupākīni* means the fruits of the plant known as *anupāki*.

24. Caraka discusses the mode of nourishment of *dhātus* and *malas* by *āhārarasa* and *mala* respectively. Looking to this the present version in the text seems to be incorrect and needs to be rectified.[3]

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[1] वैद्यसमूहो निःसंशयकराणां
दृष्टकर्मता निःसंशयकराणां

[2] हिरण्याक्षस्तु नेत्याह न ह्यात्मा रसजः स्मृतः।
तथा ब्रुवाणं कुशिकमाह तन्नेति कौशिकः।

[3] धातवो मलाख्याः प्रसादाख्याश्च रसमलाभ्यां पुष्यन्तः
should be read as धातवो प्रसादाख्याः मलाख्याश्च रसमलाभ्यां पुष्यन्तः
(C. Sū. 28.4)

25. In the treatment of *gulma*, some *cūrṇayogas* (formulations of powders), *varttis* (suppositories) and decoctions have been prescribed which have to be taken with some sour liquids. Hence the word "शूलानाहहरी" should be शूलानाहहरा: because it qualifies the word "चूर्णयोगा:" Here *peya* does not mean liquid 'gruel' but is a verbal form meaning "should be taken as drink".[1]

26. In the context of discussing similarity between Loka (outer world) and *puruṣa* (the person) Caraka says that as *loka* is constituted by six constituents such as five *mahābhūtas* and the subtle brahman so is the person composed of these six factors.[2] Here the word *puruṣa* has been repeated while the first one should have been replaced by the word *loka*. It is surprising that the teachers have been teaching it as it is some-times even defending its propriety.

27. In causes of abortion, looking to the context, the word "विषमाशन" should be replaced by "विषमासन" which is followed by the words, "स्थान" and "शयन" (C. Śā. 8. 24).

28. The use of the words 'स्त्रीपुंसयोरव्यापन्नशुक्रशोणितगर्भाशययो:' (C. Śā. 8.3) is not correct. It should be read as "स्त्रीपुंसयोरव्यापन्नशोणितगर्भाशयशुक्रयो:". Caraka is very cautious in this respect[3] and it is improbable that the above usage represents him genuinely. Hence it may be taken as a textual error and as such should be rectified.

Apart from these, the following may be taken as samples of the errors of printing:

Present Reading		*Correct Reading*
1. ससिकता:	(C. Sū. 1.70)	ससिकता
2. क्षीरकालोली	(C. Sū. 4.13)	क्षीरकाकोनी
3. विदारीगन्धा	(C. Sū. 4.17)	विदारिगन्धा
4. मोहयन्ति	(C. Sū. 26.42) (4)	मोहयति
5. विषदस्वभावाच्च	(C. Sū. 26.42) (5)	विशदस्वभावाच्च

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[1] ते चूर्णयोगा: . . . . .
शूलानाहहरी पेया बीजपूररसेन वा ॥ (C. Ci. 5.76-77).

[2] षड्धातव: समुदिता: "पुरुष" इति शब्दं लभन्ते, तद्यथा पृथिव्यापस्तेजो वायुराकाशं ब्रह्म चाव्यक्त-मिति, एत एव च षड्धातव: समुदिता:" "पुरुष" इति शब्दं लभन्ते"।

[3] Elsewhere he has used the words like "पुरुषस्यानुपहतरेतस:" (C. Śā. 5.4).
"स्त्रियाश्चाप्रदुष्टयोनिशोणितगर्भाशयाया:" (C. Śā. 3.3).
"स्त्रियमव्यापन्नयोनिशोणितगर्भाशयाम्" (C. Śā. 4.7).

	Present Reading		Correct Reading
6.	सर्षपतैलभ्रष्टान्	(C. Sū. 26.84)	सर्षपतैलभृष्टान्
7.	तत् संयोज्य	(C. Sū. 26.94)	यत् संयोज्य
8.	वेगाग्रामृता	(C. Sū. 27.4)	वेत्राग्रामृता
9.	कलम्बनालिकासूर्यः	(C. Sū. 27.101)	कलम्बनालिकासुर्यः
10.	गुरुदोषसमीरणम्	(C. Sū. 27.193)	गुरु दोषसमीरणम्
11.	वरुणालयम्	(C. Sū. 27.216)	वरुणालये
12.	निर्वृतेऽपि ज्वरे	(C. Ci. 3.339)	निवृत्तेऽपि ज्वरे
13.	सम्भित	(C. Ci. 4.27)	स्तम्भित
14.	ह्यत्रपीडबन्धे	(C. Ci. 4.98)	ह्यत्रपीडबद्धे
15.	घृतमेव	(C. Ci. 5.104)	घृतमेव वा
16.	मञ्जौजसा वा	(C. Ci. 6.11)	मज्ज्ञौजसा वा
17.	दार्वी सुराह्वां	(C. Ci. 6.26)	दार्वीं सुराह्वं
18.	मुद्रामलकप्रयोगान्	(C. Ci. 6.48)	मुद्गामलकप्रयोगात्
19.	अनायुष्यवृष्यमनौजस्यं	(C. Vi. 2.7)	अनायुष्यमवृष्यमनौजस्यं
20.	पौरजनपदाः	(C. Vi. 3.20)	पौरजानपदाः
21.	अभिद्रोहानृतवचनम्	(C. Vi. 3.24)	अभिद्रोहादनृतवचनम्
22.	तीव्राधर्मारुचेः	(C. Vi. 3.45)	तीव्राधर्मरुचेः
23.	ज्ञानसमुदायेन	(C. Vi. 4.5)	ज्ञानसमुदयेन
24.	अरोचकविपाकौ	(C. Vi. 5. 8)	अरोचकाविपाकौ
25.	मूत्रितोदकभक्ष्यस्त्री	(C. Vi. 5.20)	मूत्रिते उदकभक्ष्यस्त्री
26.	शिरस्यैवाभिसर्पतः	(C. Vi. 7.20)	शिरस्येवाभिसर्पतः
27.	माधुकीभिः	(C. Vi. 7.11)	माधूकीभिः
28.	कश्चिदेवास्यवैरस्य	(C. In. 2.19)	कश्चिदेवास्य वैरस्य
29.	पिबेत्	(C. In. 5.17)	पिबन्
30.	°दसंयमम्	(C In. 12.9)	°दसंशयम्

CONCLUSION:

The popular text of the current edition (Nirnayasagar, Bombay) of the *Caraka Saṃhitā* has a number of anomalies and errors if gone through critically. Thus there is need of studying the text carefully and a scope for improving the same on the basis of the planning and the style of the Saṃhitā itself.

आयुर्वेदविदस्तन्त्रस्थानाध्यायप्रश्नानां पृथक्त्वेन वाक्यशो वाक्यार्थशोऽर्थावयवशश्च प्रवक्तारो मन्तव्याः । तत्राह - कथं तन्त्रादीनि वाक्यशो वाक्यार्थशोऽर्थावयवशश्चोक्तानि भवन्तीति ॥

अत्रोच्यते - तन्त्रमार्षं कात्स्न्र्येन यथाम्नायमुच्यमानं वाक्यशो भवत्युक्तम् ।

बुद्ध्या सम्यगनुप्रविश्यार्थतत्त्वं वाग्भिर्व्याससमासप्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणोपनयनिगमनयुक्ताभिस्त्रिविध-शिष्यबुद्धिगम्याभिरुच्यमानं वाक्यार्थशो भवत्युक्तम् ॥

तन्त्रनियतानामर्थदुर्गाणां पुनर्विभावनैरुक्तमर्थावयवशो भवत्युक्तम् ॥

(Caraka. I. 30. 16-19.)

"Scholars conversant with Āyurveda should be in a position to explain the whole text, its different sections and chapters and specific topics in each chapter, distinctly. They should be able to recite faithfully the contents of the text, interpret them and give their gist. How could this be done? The entire text transmitted through the sages is to be recited in the appropriate order. After proper understanding, the meanings underlying the text are to be interpreted with due regard to the principles of elaboration, contraction, thesis, reasoning, exemplification, subsumptive correlation and conclusion, intelligible to all the three—superior, inferior, and mediocre types of disciples. The concepts difficult to grasp from the text are to be clarified again and again so that a clear picture of the text can be had."

Prophylactics in Ancient Indian Medicine

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Introduction :

In ancient Indian medicinal thinking prevention was always considered to be better than cure. The texts dealing with medicine directly or indirectly often tell us details of numerous magicoreligious ways for preventing diseases before they come. In this paper we are going to take into consideration these prophylactics.[1]

Since disease was in general considered to be a product of wrong behaviour, the prophylactics consist mostly of good behaviour—both negatively and positively. Thus one has to observe certain taboos, avoid bad behaviour etc. These are negative details. One has, moreover, to adopt some good qualities that have some magicoreligious importance. In addition to these one has to perform certain magicoreligious rituals in order to keep oneself healthy. These good qualities and rituals make out the positive aspect of the prophylactic details. The preventive magicoreligious ritual begins even before the birth of a man. His parents have to perform such ritual in order to get good and healthy progeny. Then, when a child is born, they have to take care of preserving the health of the child. When this child grows up and becomes a grown up man, he has himself to perform the ritual and so on.

Prophylactics in general :

Describing the prophylactics in general, Caraka, Sūtra, 7.53f it is said, "Avoidance of 'volitionl transgression', control of senses, recollection, knowledge of clime, season, and self and observance of the rule of good conduct—these are laid down as the course of prevention of exogenous diseases. The wise man should observe much before the onset of diseases (as a prophylactic measure) such things, as he considers good for his well-being". Similarly, Caraka, Cikitsā. I. 4.30ff, vitalization therapy through observing the prophylactic rules is described—" One who is free from anger, abstains from alcohol, and sexual congress, hurts no one, avoids over-strain, is tranquil of heart, fair-spoken, is devoted to repetition of holy chants and cleanliness, is endowed with understanding, given to alms-giving, diligent in spiritual endeavour, delights in reverencing the gods, cows, Brāhmaṇas, teachers, seniors and elders, is attached to non-violence, and is always compassionate, moderate and balanced in his waking and sleeping, is given to regular taking of milk and ghee, is conversant with the science of clime, season and dosage,

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[1] For various prophylactics in various ancient people, cf. in general Bartels, *Die Medicin*, p. 153ff; 221 etc.

is versed in propriety, devoid of egotism, blameless of conduct, given to wholesome eating, spritual in temperament and attached to elders and men who are believers and self-controlled and devoted to scriptural texts; such a one is to be known as enjoying the benefits of vitalization therapy constantly" (cp. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Uttara. 39.180; cp. *Kāśyapasaṁhitā*, Siddhisthāna, 8.3f). Thus the religiously regulated conduct itself is the best prophylactic.

Prophylactics before the birth:

We have already stated that the prophylactics begin before the birth of a man. Thus in order to get a good and healthy son, *Carakasaṁhitā*, Śārīra. 8.5ff prescribes [1] a detailed ritual to be performed. Some of its salient features deserve to be noted for the sake of understanding the magicoreligious aspects of Indian medicine. Thus "on the fourth day of the menstruation, the woman is to be clothed in white garments. On that day her husband also wears clothes of white colour (5). . . . While ascending on the couch the man should first place his right foot and the woman the left (7). At that time the following formula is to be uttered—'Thou art the day; thou art the life; thou art well-established from all sides; may the supporter endow thee; may the dispenser dispense thee; be thou born with the Brāhmaṇic splendour. May Brahmā, Bṛhaspati, Viṣṇu, Soma, Sūrya and the two Aśvins as also Bhaga, Mitra and Varuṇa bless me with heroism.' Having uttered this formula, the two should unite."

Various rules are to be observed for getting various kinds of sons. Thus "if the woman desires a son who is large of limb, white, with eyes like those of a lion, full of vigour, pure and endowed with genius, then beginning with the post-menstrual bath, she should be given to drink a light porridge of white barley-grain which has been well-cleansed, sweetened with honey and ghee and diluted in the milk of a white cow having a white calf, out of a silver or bronze vessel, regularly morning and evening for a week. In the forenoon she should eat a dish prepared out of Śāli-rice and barley mixed with curds, honey, and ghee or with milk. . . . Her apartments, bed, seats, drinks, habiliment, and ornaments should all be of the white colour. At evening and morning time without fail, she should gaze on a white majestic bull or stallion or white sandal paste. She should also be entertained with pleasant tales agreeable to her mood. She should always look at men and women of gentle looks, speech, address and manners as well as at the sights of other objects that are white. Her companions shall constantly regale her with pleasurable and wholesome thing. So too shall the husband. The couple shall, however, avoid sexual congress. Having in this manner passed the week, on the eighth day she shall lave her person including the head with waters, in company with her husband and shall put on new raiment that is white and shall wear white garlands and ornaments (9). Then the priest, having selected a spot to the north-east of the dwelling place with a downward slope towards the east or the north, shall, after smearing the ground with cow-dung and water, sprinkling it with water, fix the altar. West of the

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[1] Cf. the *Carakasaṁhitā*, Vol. III. Jamnagar, 1949, p. 1118ff.

altar, the priest should take his seat either on new piled cloth or on the skin of a white bull if he is officiating at the behest of a Brāhmaṇa patron; on the skin of a tiger if on the behest of a Kṣatriya; and on the skin of a deer or a he-goat if on the behest of a Vaiśya. Thus seated, he shall, having kindled the sacrificial fire with the twigs either of Palāśa, zacham-oil-plant (Iṅgudī), gular fig tree (Audumbara) or Mādhukī plant, spread the small sacrificial grass round about and fix the stakes to enclose the fire, bestrew the altar-place with fried rice and with white and sweet-smelling flowers. Then fetching a water-pot, clean and sanctified, he should cause the horse etc. of the described colour to be placed at the four corners (16). Then the woman desirous of a son shall sit down to the west of the fire and to the south of the priest and together with her husband shall offer the oblation, expressing her longing for the son of her heart. Unto her, thus expressing her wish, the priest addressing the god of procreation for the fructification of her desire in her womb shall perform the boon-conferring sacrifice by chanting the hymn, "May Viṣṇu fecundate the womb" (ṚV. X. 184. 1 etc.). Then mixing the oblation with the holy ghee he should offer it thrice into the fire reciting the appropriate Vedic hymns. He should then give the sanctified pot of water to the woman saying, "Do thou use this whenever thou art in need of water". On the completion of the rite she should, placing her right foot first, walk around the fire keeping it to her right, accompanied by the husband. Then having obtained blessings of the Brāhmaṇas the couple should partake the remains of the sacrificial ghee, first the husband and then the wife, taking care to leave no part uneaten. After this the two shall cohabit for a period of eight nights wearing the dress etc. as prescribed above. In this manner they will be able to procreate the desired son (11). As regards the woman who wishes for a son, dark-hued, red-eyed, broad-chested, and mighty-armed, or as regards a woman who seeks a son, black of hue, with black, soft and long tresses, gleaming of eye and teeth, radiant and high-souled, for both these the sacrificial procedure is the same as prescribed above. The paraphernalia, however, will not be of the same colour, but in either case, to match the colour of the sought for son, agreeably to the prospective mother's desire (12). As regards the Śūdra woman, the mere act of salutation of the gods, the sacred fire, the Brāhmaṇas, the guardians, the saints and the adepts will suffice" (13).

Puṁsavana (procreating a male progeny) :

In order that a male progeny be born the Puṁsavana-rite is to be performed in connection with the pregnant woman. By this rite as described in the Veda even reversing (*vivartana*) of the sex is also possible. "For, performances that are well-favoured in space and time, bear the desired fruits invariably and contrary performance, the contrary results" (Caraka. Śārīra, 8.19). "Therefore inspecting a woman who has newly conceived, the medicine-man-priest should, before the signs of gestation become apparent, administer to her the rite of Puṁsavana. Having culled two fresh sprouts, one each from easterly and westerly branches of a Banyan-tree, growing in a cow-pen and dropping them together with two unbroken grains of black-gram or white mustard seed in curds, the woman should be made to drink it during the conjunction of the Puṣya asterism with the moon. In the same manner the paste of such drugs such as Jīvaka, Ṛṣabhaka, rough chaff tree and crested purple nail-dye, which have been treated either all together or separately

as desired, in milk, or else such insects as the (*Kuḍyakīṭaka* or *matsyaka*) wall-insects should be swallowed by the pregnant woman having placed them in the water cupped with joining both hands, in the Puṣya-conjunction. Likewise, in the same conjunction she should swallow without leaving any remains images of men made of gold, silver, iron, flame-coloured and minute in size, having placed them in handful of curds, milk or water. Moreover, having inhaled the heat emanating from the flour of *śāli*-rice while it is being roasted and placing the extracted juice soaked in water, on the threshold, the pregnant woman should herself drop the juice into her right nostril by means of a cotton-wool. Moreover, whatever else the Brāhmaṇas or well-meaning woman may declare as desiderata in the rite of Puṁsavana, all that shall the expectant mother do." (Caraka, Śārīra 8. 19).[1]

Magical techniques of preseving the embryo:

The pregnant woman should wear in her head or on the right hand the herbs like Aindrī, Brāhmī, Śatavīryā, Sahasravīryā, Emblic Myrobalan, Guduch, Chebulic Myrobalan, Neem, evening mallow and perfumed cherry. She should drink milk or ghee treated by these very herbs or bathe on every Puṣya-conjunction in water that has been treated by these very herbs and get regular massage with these herbs. (Caraka. Śārīra. 8.20).[2]

Prophylactic rules for a pregnant woman:

For the sake of safe delivery a pregnant woman is expected to behave according to certain prophylactic rules. Thus according to *Kāśyapasaṁhitā* (p. 84), " She should reside in a room in which incenses are burnt, in which worship used to be performed, which is devoid of insects, and which is resounding with the noise of recitations of Brāhmaṇas and with the sound of musical instruments [3]. She should, every morning, after being clean, worship the teachers and gods. She should worship the rising sun. She should not look at setting sun and waning moon. She should also not see the sun or moon at the time of eclipse. At the time of eclipse, she should remain in the inner chamber, devoting herself to pacificatory and oblational rites and when the eclipse is over, she should pray. She should never dislike guests, should give alms to them and never reject them. She should offer ghee into self-born fire. There should always be near her, waterful jar, ghee, garlands, pots full of water, curds etc. She should not hinder anything, and not bind anything with threads etc. . . . She may release (but not bind)." According to the same text (p. 96), the pregnant woman who takes regular bath, is always pleased, wears white clothes, remains clean,[4] devoted to gods and Brāhmaṇas (cp. Suśruta. Śārīra 10. 3), and does not become agitated, will get a male progeny.

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[1] Ibid., p. 1129f.

[2] Ibid., p. 1131f.

[3] The incense, recitation, and musical instruments etc., seem to have been prescribed for their apotropic virtues.

[4] The context shows that the cleanliness meant here is magicoreligious rather than hygienical, in the modern sense.

In the hall where the delivery will take place, protective and pacificatory rites should be performed earlier (Suśruta. Śārīra. 10. 7; cp. Caraka. Śārīra. 8. 35). The pregnant woman should enter the hall of delivery in the ninth month of her pregnancy, on a day which is auspicious in every respect. Before she enters the hall, a pacificatory rite is to be performed. Then a cow and Brāhmaṇas should first be entered into the hall. To the cow, grass, honey, fried grains, and water should be given and to the Brāhmaṇas rice-grains, flowers, fruits etc. should be given. Then the Brāhmaṇas should be made to utter blessings. Then the pregnant woman should enter the hall with her right side towards the cows and Brāhmaṇas (Caraka. Śārīra. 8. 35).

At the time of delivery, the favourite lady attendant should utter the following formula in the ear of the expectant mother—"May the earth, the waters, the heaven, the light, the wind, Viṣṇu and Prajāpati ever protect you and the child and may they direct the delivery, o auspicious-faced one! bring forth without distress to yourself or to him, a son, who will possess the lustre of Kārttikeya and have the protection of Kārttikeya." (Caraka. Śārīra. 8.39).

Prophylactics after the birth of a child :

After the child is born, a sacramental rite called Jātakarma is to be perfomerd. In this rite honey and ghee made sacred with the formulas from the Veda to which the father of the child belongs are given to the child for licking (Caraka. Śārīra. 8. 46).

In order to protect the child from evil influences, apotropic substances are to be used. Thus the maternity-home should be surrounded by branches of Ādānī (bitter luffa), Khadira (Catechu), Karkandhu (wild jujube), Pīlu (tooth-brush-tree), and Parūṣaka tree (sweet falsah). In the house everywhere seeds of mustard, Atasī (linseed) and whole and broken rice should be scattered and offerings of rice-grains should be made twice a day. At the door, a pestle should be kept parallel to the threshold. Vacā (sweet flag), Kuṣṭha (Costus), Kṣaumaka (Angelica), Hiṅgu (Asafoetida), Sarṣapa (Mustard), Atasī (Linseed), Laśuna, (Garlic), Kaṇa and Kaṇikā and drugs which are reputed to ward off the evil spirits should be tied in packets and suspended from the top of the top-beam of the lying-in room. Similarly these packets should be hung round the neck of the new mother as also round the son. Packets should also be placed in the cooking vessels, the water-pots, and the couch as well as at both sides of the entrance. Moreover, with the lying-in room, there should always be a fire kept burning with the thorns of fragrant poon and the wood of false mangosteen (Caraka. Śārīra 8.47).

During the twelve days after the birth there should be incessant alms-giving, sounds of auspicious blessings, praise, song, and the musical instruments in the house and it should be gay with feasting and drinking and filled with well-disposed and rejoicing crowds. A Brāhmaṇa who is a knower of the *Atharvaveda* should regularly, offer pacificatory offerings into the fire, twice daily, for securing the welfare of the mother and child (*ibid* 8.47).

On the tenth day, the woman, together with the child should bathe in water treated with all fragrant herbs and with white mustard-seed, and Lodhra put on light,

new and clean garments, deck herself with pure, coveted, light, and variegated ornaments, touch auspicious-objects and worship appropriate deity; receive the blessing of the Brāhmaṇas who are with unshorn locks, white garments and whole bodies; then having wrapped the child she should place it with its head either towards the east or the north in the folds of a new garment. Declaring that it (the child) salutes the twice-born headed by the gods, the father of the child should give it two names, one denoting the constellation and the other of intended meaning. Of these the meaningful name should have a sonant for its first letter and for the last a semivowel or a siblant or an aspirate, should be free of dipthongs, reminiscent of one of three ancestors (father, grand-father, great grand-father) and not new-fangled. The stellar name should not be that of the stellar deity and should be either disyllabic or tetrasyllabic (Caraka. Śārīra. 8. 50).

Prophylactic rules of behaviour :

We have seen above the prophylactics before and after the birth of a child. Now one has to observe the prophylactic rules of behaviour throughout one's life in order to preserve one's health. A good, regulated, moral and religious conduct is the most important and the best possible prophylactic according to the ancient Indian thinkers on medicine. In the ur-times, when everybody was behaving according to the sacred law (Dharma), performing sacrifices, devoted to truth, rectitude, compassion, charity, self-restraint, moral discipline, spiritual endeavour, fasting, continence, and religious observances (*satyārjavānṛśaṁsyadānadamaniyamatapa-upavāsabrahmacaryavrataparāḥ*) and free from fear, desire, aversion, infatuation, greed, anger, despondency, pride, disease, sleep, indolence, fatigue, langour, sloth, and the spirit of acquisition (*vyapagatabhaya-rāga-dveṣa-mohalobha-krodhaśokamānaroga-nidrātandrāśramaklamālasyaparigrahāḥ*). Thus they were of good behaviour and therefore were diseaseless and long-living. But when in the successive times people left this good way of behaviour, diseases came into existence (Caraka. Vimāna. 3. 24). Before giving the prophylactic rules of behaviour, *Caraka-saṁhitā* (Sūtra, 8. 171) makes a general statement—"Therefore all those desirous of their welfare should always remember and put into practice all the rules of behaviour. By the observance of these rules one achieves at once both the objects viz., health and conquest of senses."

These rules are of various kinds. Among them some concern with the companionship, some with food, some with the relations with women, some with the general safety, and some with the positive performances of religious rituals. Thus there are some negative and some positive rules.

There are some rules in connection with the companionship. "The knowledge of authoritative instruction and its right application are the two factors necessary for the prevention and cure of the disease" (Caraka. Sūtra. 7.55). Therefore one should avoid the company of some and get the company of some others. The persons of following kinds are to be avoided. Thus those who are of sinful conduct, speech, and disposition, back-biters, quarrelsome, sarcastic, and niggards, those who are envious

of other's prosperity and chests; those who delight in scandal-mongering and are fickleminded, those who have a foot in the enemy's camp, those who are without compunction and apostates—all such, the scum of humanity should be avoided. On the other hand, company of the people of following kinds is recommended - thore who are old (mature) in understanding, learning, years, character, courage, memory and one-mindedness, those who frequent the company of such ; those who are endowed with insight into the nature of things ; those who are free from all ailments ; those who are well-disposed towards all creatures, those who are tranquil of heart, those who are of commendable character ; the teachers of the right path, and those, who hear and see only that which is meritorious (Caraka. Sūtra. 7.56-59.) Elsewhere another list of persons whose company should be avoided is given. This list consists of irreligious people, those who are disloyal to the king, arrogant, depraved, given to feticide, mean and wicked persons. Moreover, one should not accept for wife, friend or servant, persons of sinful conduct (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.19). Similarly one should not make friendship with the very young, the very old, the greedy, the foolish, the diseased and the impotent person according to Caraka. Sūtra. 8.26 (cp. in General Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.90) *Aṣṭāṅga-saṅgraha.* Sūtra 3. 80 prohibits one to be in company of heretics (*nāstika*).

There are some prophylactic rules in connection with food. Caraka. Sūtra. 7.60 mentions that one has to be careful about the wholesomeness (*hita*) of food. Elsewhere the same text gives following prophylactic rules about eating food :—One should not partake a meal without wearing a jewel on the hand ; without having had a bath ; clad in tattered clothes, without saying any prayers, without performing any oblations into the fire ; without offering to the household gods and manes ; without first feeding the elders ; guests and dependents ; unscented ; ungarlanded ; *without cleansing the hands, feet and face* ; *with unclean mouth* [1] ; with the face towards the north ; listlessly ; waited on by an undevoted, unmannerly, unclean, or hungry attendent ; in improper vessels ; in an improper place ; at an improper time ; amidst a crowd ; without offering first to Agni (fire) ; without besprinkling the food with sanctified water and without saying scriptural formulas over it ; while reviling any one of a vile description ; served by illwishers, consisting of stale articles with the exception of flesh, greens, dry vegetables and fruits (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.20). Similarly he should not partake of a meal without leaving some remnants except of curds, honey, salt, roasted grain, flour and ghee. He should not eat curds at night. He should not eat roasted grain floor by itself or at night or after a meal or in large quantities or at both meals, or interspersed with draughts of water. He should also not eat by tearing with teeth (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.20).

Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha, Sūtra. 3.76 it is said that one should not eat food of those who are about to die or are dead ones or of those who live with hardships, of those who are overpowered by women, of impotents, of those fallen from the social status, of cruel ones, of evil-doers, of crowd, of an enemy, of a prostitute, from a sacrificial session, of a cunning man and of a merchant (cp. Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.98). Similarly, one should

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[1] The remark made in note no. 4, p. 142 above, is applicable here also.

not eat food keeping it on one's lap nor should drink water with one's hands joined and hollowed (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*. Sūtra 3.77). One should not eat at the time of twilight (Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.98). After the sun-set one should not eat anything prepared out of sesames (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra, 3 78). One should not eat anything without having washed one's hands and feet (Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.98). One should not do any heavy work immediately after eating (*ibid*., 3.79).

There are certain prophylactic rules in connection with women and intercourse. Thus according to Caraka. Sūtra. 8.22, one should not condemn nor confide in women too much, nor divulge a secret to her, nor place her in power. According to *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra, 3.100f, One should not look at any women when she is making water, when she is in her course, nude or united with somebody, Moreover, one should not look at one's own wife when she is eating, sleeping, sneezing, yawning or sitting awkwardly. One should not sleep on the same bed where she sleeps, should not eat along with her. One should protect her without being jealous of her and should not retain her if she is flirting. According to Caraka. Sūtra. 2.19 one should not covet another's wife.

In Caraka. Sūtra. 8.22, many prophylactic rules are given about intercourse. Thus one should not indulge in the sexual act with a woman who is in her course, diseased, unclean, unfit, of undesirable appearance, conduct, nature, unskillful, unresponsive, or desirous of another, or with another's wife or with a female of another species of animal, or in extra-genital organ, under a tutelary tree, in a public hall, at cross-roads, in a public park, crematorium, executorium, acquarium, herbarium, or in the house of a Brāhmaṇa, or of a teacher or of god or during the twilights, or on forbidden days, in an unclean condition or without taking an aphrodisiac, without having made up one's mind beforehand, without having achieved the necessary erotic urge, without having partaken of nourishment, in an over-eaten condition, in an awkward position or hard pressed by urine and feces, or in a state afflicted by fatigue, physical exercise, fasting and exhaustion, or in a place that has no privacy.

There are many prophylactic rules about one's study also. Thus one should not do one's studies during unseasonal lightning, when the quarters are lit up with a lurid glow, or while a conflagration is in progress, during an earthquake, at festive-tide, at the time of meteoric showers, during the two twilights, or without being taught by the teacher or slurring over letters, or overstressing them or raucously, or in a falsetto-tone, or without punctuating, hurriedly, or too leisurely, or in a spiritless manner or very loudly, or in a very low voice (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.24). It has also been said that one should not study while one is dirty (ibid., 8.23).

Some other prophylactic rules concern with the general safety viewed from the magicoreligious point of view. Thus it is said that one should not ride on a bad mount, sit on a hard and knee-high seat; sleep on an unspread, uncovered, narrow, and uneven bed; roam on jagged peaks of mountains; climb trees; bathe in rapidly flowing waters; rest under the shade of a bank, move in vicinity of conflagrations. One should not go

near cruel, fanged or horned animals. One should avoid headwinds, severe sun, frost storms (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.19).

One has to observe many prophylactic rules about one's speech. Thus one should not speak ill of good people and elders (Caraka. Sūtra 8.23). Similarly one should not speak ill of gods, Brāhman[1] and ancestors (Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.10). One should not also speak against the king, not harshly, not of the type of back-biting (Suśruta. Cikitsā 24.90). One should not defy the elders, teachers, the guilds and the kings (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.25). One should not speak untruth (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.19; cp. Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24 10). One should take initiative in the conversation[2] and speak what is wholesome, measured, palatable, and timely (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.18).

For preserving one's health, one has to observe certain prophylactic rules about sleeping also. Thus before going to sleep one should remember the god, and recollect the activities one has done during the day. One should sleep at a place which is free from hustle. At the time of sleep there should be two or three relatives or servants near him. The bed [3] should be well-covered, with proper pillow, broad one, even, pleasant and as high as one's knee, soft, and auspicious. One shoule sleep with one's head towards the elderly people. At the time of sleep, one should meditate on religion (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*. Sūtra. 3.118ff). One should not indulge in excessive sleep or excessive waking (Caraka. Sūtra. 8. 19).

Some prophylactic rules are concerned with the general and etiquettes but these are also magicoreligiously significant. Thus one should not laugh loudly; indulge in audible release of wind; yawn, sneeze, or laugh without covering the mouth [4]; pick the nose [5]; gnash the teeth; drum with the nails [6]; strike the bones one with another, scratch the ground [7]; idly pick at grass-blades, or knead a clod of mud; make unnecessary gestures (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.19).

As a part of prophylactic rules of behaviour one has to observe some taboos in connection with some power-substances considered to be sacred. Thus one should avoid rags, bones, thorns, offal hair, refuse, ashes, fragments of earthen vessels, places of bathing and of tributes (*bali*) (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.18). One should not despise a dead body;

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[1] Cp. Caraka. Sūtra. 8.25.

[2] Cp. *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra. 3.82; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Sūtra. 2.26.

[3] According to *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra. 3.150, the bed of a king should be consecrated with preventive formulas.

[4] Cp. Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.93; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Sūtra. 2.35.

[5] Cp. Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.95; *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra. 3.93; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Sūtra. 2.35.

[6] Cp. Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.95; *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Sūtra. 2.43.

[7] Cp. Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.93.

cross the shadow of a tutelary tree, flag, teacher, and of worshipful or blameworthy object [1]; repair at night to a temple, tutelary tree, public hall, cross-ways, public park, crematorium, or scaffold, enter alone a deserted house or a forest (*ibid.*, 8.19). One should not walk by keeping the holy and auspicious objects on one's left and things of dissimilar nature (i.e. unholy, inauspicious) on right (*ibid.*, 8.19). One should not void spittle, wind, stools and urine facing the winds, fire,[2], water, moon, sun, a Brāhmana or an elder [3] (*ibid.*, 8.21). One should not make water on the road, blow the nose amidst a crowd, while eating and while engaged in the acts like Japa (muttering the sacred words), oblations, study, and tributes and auspicious acts (*ibid.*, 8 21). One should not pour libations of ghee-rice-grains, sesames, sacrificial grass, mustards, in the sacrificial fire or while one is in unclean condition (*ibid.*, 8.28).

It is well-known that a king is supposed to be a carrier of magicoreligious power and therefore one has to observe some prophylactic rules in connection with a king also. Thus in *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra, 3.123f it is said that a king is spoken of as a repertoire of all glory; therefore one should serve him devotionally, without disturbing his mind. In his presence one should not sit on one's heels, nor sit leaning against something, nor indulge in ridicule, debate, spitting, yawning etc.

There are many prophylactic rules according to which one who wants to preserve one's health, has to be religious and perform religious duties and rituals. Religion (Dharma) is described as the source of happiness and one is advised to be religious by *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Sūtra. 2. 19f. Thus one should revere gods, cows, Brāhmaṇas, preceptor, elders, adepts, and teachers; tend the sacrificial fire. One should be a regular performer of burnt offerings and sacrifices [4]. One should be charitable; should salute at cross-roads, offer tributes (*bali*) and worship the guests, give food-balls to the manes; be religious-hearted (*dharmātmā*) and a performer of religious duties (*dhārmikaḥ*). One should be possessing faith (*āstikaḥ*). One should perform auspicious rites (*maṅgalācāraśīlaḥ*) (Caraka. Sūtra. 8 18). One should bathe to the incantations of the scriptural texts beginning with "May Agni not leave me", "May the wind grant me life", "May Viṣṇu grant me strength", "May Indra grant me virility", "May waters enter . . . me auspiciously", "The waters are indeed the source of happiness" etc., and having laved the lips twice and having besprinkled the feet, touch the body with water, on eight cavities of the head, on the heart, and on the top of the head (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.28).

There are many other miscellanious prophylactic rules of behaviour. Thus one should always wear holy herbs; take bath twice, repeatedly cleanse the excretory

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[1] Cp. Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.92; Cp. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Sūtra. 2.23.

[2] According to Cherokee people, one should not urinate on fire, ashes or an anthill, lest one would suffer from itch; MOONEY, OLBRECHT, *Swimmer manuscript*, p. 174.

[3] Cp. Sūśruta. Cikitsā. 24. 93.

[4] Cp. *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra 3.83.

orifices and feet, trim hair of the head, beard and nails thrice a fortnight. One should always wear clean and untorn apparel; keep a cheerful disposition; keep the hair well-toiletted; apply daily oil for the head, the ears, the nostrils, and the feet; should smoke, be pleasant-faced; help the distressed, should envy merritorious acts and not of their fruits [1]; should be free from anxiety, fear; should be modest, sagacious, dexterous [2], of forgiving nature; and serve those who are superior to oneself in modesty, intellect, learning, birth, and age and also those who are adepts and preceptors. One should relax from work before feeling the strain. One should behave in a brother-like manner with all creatures; win over the angry; console the frightened; befriend the destitute; have truthfulness, peaceful disposition; bear with the harsh words from others; show a tranquil disposition and remove the cause of passion and aversion (Caraka. Sūtra. 8 18). One should not take away another's goods; covet another's wealth; delight in vengeance; commit any sin ever against a sinner; expose another's shortcoming; pry into other's secrets; contend with one's superiors; curry favour with the crooked; take shelter with a non-āryan person; spread panic; indulge in rash acts or excess of bathing; sit long on haunches with the knees up; provoke a quarrel (*ibid.*, 8. 19). One should not sneeze, eat, and sleep in a crooked fashion; attend to another's work while pressed by natural urges (*ibid.*, 8.21). One should not transgress the majority decision (*atisamaya*); break a rule; move at night in an improper place; resort to dinner study, sex-act, sleep at the two twilights, develop a taste for drinking, gambling and company of prostitutes; divulge secrets; condemn anyone; be self-conceited; inept, obstructive, carping; raise staff against a cow, break off with relations, companions, helpers in adversity and those who know secrets (*ibid.*, 8.25). One should not be either timed or overbold; overgenerous to one's dependents; distrustful of one's kinsmen; take pleasures alone. Let not the maintaining of character, scriptural enjoinments and social observances be a tax on one. One should not trust everyone. One should be deliberate always (*ibid.*, 8.26). One should not slip the right moment of action; undertake anything without deliberation, be a slave to the sense-appetites; ponder to the fickle mind; overburden the senses and understanding. One should not overprocrastinate; give way to anger and joy, nurse one's sorrows; be arrogant in success and dejected in defeat. One should remember constantly the vanity of things; be decided as to the causes and their effects and constantly devoted to benevolent enterprises. One should not grow complacent with the achievements; lose heart; recall calumny (*ibid.*, 8.27). One should not use the things used by others such as the garland, umbrella, shoes, gold, and old clothes [3] (Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.99). One should not indulge in dancing, playing, musical instruments or singing (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Sūtra. 3. 90).

We have already said above that as a part of prophylactic behaviour one has to be religious and perform religious duties. Let us see some particular religious duties like *vratas* (religious observances), tributes, worship, feeding etc. of Brāhmaṇas etc. in some details.

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[1] Cp. *ibid.*, 3.88.

[2] Cp. *ibid.*, 3.82.

[3] For the significance of this rule see note No. 4, p. 142 above.

Vratas (*religious observances*)

Performing some religious observances is considered to be a part of prophylactics. Thus in a religious observance, one should worship the sun everyday. On the seventh day of every month one should observe a fast. This one should do for a year. Then because of the performance of this Vrata one will remain healthy and wealthy throughout the life (*Varāhapurāṇa* 62.2ff). On the second day of the bright half of the Pauṣa-month, one should take an evening-bath with water placed in the horns of a cow. Then wearing a white cloth, one should worship the crescent moon with the worship-material. Then one should worship Brāhmaṇas also. This ceremony is to be finished before the moon-set. Then one should take milk without anything else and sleep on the ground for the night. This ceremony is to be repeated every month for a year. Then at the end of the year, after worshipping the moon and Brāhmaṇas one should give gifts to the Brāhmaṇas. By this observance one remains always healthy (*Viṣṇudharmottarap*. II. 58. 1ff). In another observance useful as a prophylactic one has to worship the sun on the fifth-day. Then for a year one should take food daily only for one time. After that food one may drink water but only with the priest's consent. At the end of the year one should give gifts to the priest. By means of this observance one keeps all the diseases away from oneself and remains healthy (*Viṣṇudharmottarap*. II. 59. 1ff).

Bali (*tribute*)

Offering Bali (tribute) to the evil beings which are supposed to be causes of disease is also mentioned as a prophylactic. The *Hārītasamhitā* prescribes a tribute to the evil beings (III. 55 19 ; 28). Good behaviour as we have seen, is a prophylactic and as a part of good behaviour one should offer tributes so that one will never be diseased (Caraka. Sūtra. 8.18). In order to protect young elephants from evil beings i.e., from diseases, tribute is to be offered to them (*Hastyāyurveda*. II. 46). Before the Nīrājana (circumambulating lambs) of elephants, tribute is to be offered to the evil beings so that they will not catch the elephants (*ibid.*, IV. 36.19). In order to obtain long life, one should offer a tribute consisting of fish to the herons (*Bodhāyangṛhya*. I. 9.8). For protecting children from evil beings *Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha* prescribes a tribute to be offered in each of the four directions of the house (Uttara. 4. p. 41). There is a very important point to be noted in this connection that during the rite of offering a tribute one comes into contact with very dangerous powers. So the performer has to take care of protecting himself from them. Thus after giving the tribute one should throw upon oneself a mouthful of water with a formula in which obeisance is paid to the evil beings like Vimāraka etc. (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Uttara. 4 p. 41).

Worshipping etc., the Brahmaṇas :

There are many prophylactic rites in connection with the Brāhmaṇas such as worshipping or feeding them or giving gifts to them. Thus in a pacificatory rite to be performed for securing the health of horses, Brāhmaṇas are to be worshipped (*Viṣṇudharmottarap*. II. 47,10). Worship of Brāhmaṇas and that of gods and guests is described to be helpful for obtaining long life (*āyuṣya*) (Caraka. Cikitsā. 24.67f). Before building

an elephant-stall, Brāhmaṇas should be fed, so that the elephants kept there will always remain healthy (Hastyā. IV. 6). Feeding of Brāhmaṇas is a part of a pacificatory rite to be performed for securing the health of cows. (*Viṣṇudharmottarap*. II. 44.13). Man should feed Brāhmaṇas and make them utter benedictions. Then he prospers in every respect and gets male progeny. Then in his house no child-death occurs, and no evil beings take hold of the children in his house (*Bodhāyanīya gṛhyaśeṣa* I. 18.8). In the fifth or sixth month of pregnancy, Brāhmaṇas should be fed (*Hārītasaṁhitā* III. 49.10) in order to preserve the health of the child in the future. When four *kṛṣṇalas* (a measure) of gold are given to the Brāhmaṇ-priest as a sacrificial gift, long life is put into the sacrificer (KS. XI. 4).

anapekṣamāṇaḥ etc., (*without looking back*) :

After the performance of some magicoreligious rite one is asked to return without looking back. The significance of this interdiction is to protect oneself from the evil spirits in whose contact one came while performing the rite. When new elephants are brought, lamps are to circumambulated around their face with the formula beginning with *yathā havyam* (AV. IV. 23.2). The purpose of this rite called Nīrājana is to make the elephants long-living. Now the Nīrājana-rite is useful for removing away the evil spirits (see the chapter on " ways of curing "). So in order to avoid the possibility of evil beings taking hold of the performers of this rite, the performers are advised to return without looking backward (*Rājakarmasāṁvatsarīya* an *Atharvavedic Pariśiṣṭa*. 3.9-11) [1].

miscellaneous magicoreligious prophylactics :

There are many miscellaneous magicoreligious prophylactics. (i) Fasting has a prophylactic significance. Therefore (*Viṣṇudharmottarap*. II. 44.36), prescribes fasting

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[1] For the significance of not looking back in the medicinal rites see BLACK, *Folk-medicine*, p. 38 ; 58. " In a Babylonian rite against Labartu, the house was cleansed and a picture of the demon was made of clay from the house and placed at the head of the patient. A brazier into which a sword was thrust was also placed at the head of the sick man and kept there blazing for three days. At the end of the third day, the picture of the demon was carried out of the house, destroyed with the sword, buried in a corner of the wall and surrounded with flour and water. And when you returned to the house you were not to *look back* " (Sigerist, *History of medicine*, I, p. 472). " In Bohemia they say that if you feel the fever coming on, you should pull out some of your hair, tear off a strip of a garment you are wearing and bore a hole in a willow-tree. Having done so you put the hair and the rag in the hole and stop it up with a wedge of hawthorn. Then go home *without looking back* and if a voice calls you, be sure not to answer. When you have complied with this prescription, the fever will cease " (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, IX. p. 58). " A flemish cure for the ague is to go early in the morning to an old willow, tie three knots in one of its branches, say, " Good-morrow, Old one, I give thee the cold ; good-morrow Old one ", then turn and run away without *looking round*" (Frazer, *ibid.*, IX. p. 56).

in a prophylactic pacificatory rite. (ii) Drinking of Soma is useful for removing age and death (Suśruta. Cikitsā. 29.3). One should drink Soma on auspicious day after performing auspicious and benedictory rites (*ibid.*, 29.10 ; 12). (iii) When a person is wounded, he has to protect himself from the attack of evil beings which are in search of wounds and create more distrubance to the wounded person. Therefore a wounded person should remain with his nails and hair cut, clean, (*śuci*—pure), wearing white garments and devoted to pacificatory and auspicious rites and to Brāhmaṇas and teachers (Suśruta. Sūtra. XIX. 23). (iv) A mark (*tilaka)* of *gorocana* (a bright yellow orpiment) should be made on the forehead of a child and a drink prepared out of sugar and Kuṣṭha (a herb) should be given to it. Then the child has no fear of poison or of evil being or of diseases (*Garuḍapurāṇa* I. 202.17). Thus here it seems that "mark (*tilaka)*" is of apotropic significance. (v) Similarly many other apotropic power-substances like conch-shells, seeds of lotus, Elaeocarpus Ganitrus (Rudrākṣa), Vacā, iron etc. should be bound to children so that the evil being cannot possess them and thus the children are saved from diseases (*Garuḍapurāṇa* I. 172. 19 ; cp. 202. 18). (vi) The lore named Aparājitā should be written on a leaf of birch-tree. This leaf is then to be wrapped with a cotton ribbon (*pratisara*) and bound around the neck of a child. This is also an apotropic and prophylatic means of protecting children (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha.* Uttara. 4, p. 39). (vii) In order to protect a child from evil beings, a cotton ribbon (*pratisara*) may be bound around his neck, with the following words—" Having paid obeisance to Lord Svayambhū, I am binding an auspicious ribbon, prepared by ancient seers, for the sake of protection of the children " (*Aṣṭāṅgasaṅgraha*, Uttara. 4, p. 40). (viii) *Yantracintāmaṇi* of Dāmodara prescribes a diagram to be sketched on a birch-leaf with the rut of an elephant and to be bound around the neck of a pregnant woman for the sake of safety of the woman. (ix) While preparing a medicinal substance named Candrodaya, an amulet may be prepared with the words beginning with *namaḥ puruṣasimhāya. . . .* This amulet[1] proves to be a preventive as well as a blissful means at the time of danger from poison, ghosts, evil beings, sorcery, impurity, evil sight, epidemics, droughts, wars, etc. (*Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya*, Uttara. 35.28ff). *Garuḍapurāṇa* I. 194.1ff, a *kavaca* "(Armour)" in the form of Viṣṇu' various manifestations is prescribed to be used as a prophylactic against any disease. In that Armour, various manifestations of Viṣṇu are requested to protcct various limbs. Thus Hari is requested to protect the head, Janārdana the heart, Keśava the tongue etc. An amulet is also bound after this Armour is recited over it. (xi) According to Caraka. Śārīra. 6.62, for the sake of protection of children from diseases prophylactic amulets are to be prepared out of the right horns of the live animals like rhinoceros, deer, gayal, and bull, herbs like Aindrī etc. ; and Jīvaka and Ṛṣabhaka (names of herbs) as also all such articles as the Brāhmaṇas learned in the *Atharvaveda* may recommend. (xii) Various sorts of prayers to gods are often regarded as prophylactics. Thus in ṚV. VIII. 67.8. Rudra is prayed " May this fetter (i.e., disease) not bind us ". Elsewhere, the same deity is prayed for diseaselessness of men and animals, in the village (ṚV. I. 114. 1),

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[1] For the prophylactic significance of amulets see Bartels, *Die Medicin*, p. 225ff. Neuberger in *V. Havorka, Kronfeld Volks medizin*, p. XVI.

In RV X. 126. 1, it is said, "No distress or evil consequences reach that man whom Aryaman, Mitra and Varuṇa lead accross the hateful enemies" i.e. a person under protection of these deities cannot be diseased. (xiii) Performing pacificatory rites (*Matsyapurāṇa* 93.81) and (xiv) celebration of a lamp-festival (*Skandapurāṇa* Vaiṣṇava. Kārttika. 10.53) are considered to be of prophylactic signification. (xv) Similarly, ritual bath is a prophylactic means according to *Viṣṇudharmottarap*. II. 57. 1ff. (cp. *Aṣṭaṅgasaṅgraha*, Uttara. 5, p. 46). (xvi) Touching water is also a prophylactic means of lengthening one's life. Thus after taking food or after a sexual union, one must touch water while reciting the formula—"May Indra grant me virility etc." (Bhelasaṁhitā, adhyāya, 7).

Some prophylactics in the animal-medicine :

Some prophylactics in the animal-medicine may be mentioned now. Thus in order that there should not be any diseases among the elephants, it is necessary to perform an offering (*homa*) before preparing the elephant-stall (Hastyā. IV. 6). In order to save the kids of elephants from diseases also an offering is to be performed (Hastyā. 2.46). Similarly, pacificatory rites (*śānti*) and benedictory rites (*svastyayana*) are useful as prophylactic for elephants and therefore they are to be performed regularly (Hastyā. IV. 16.55). The rite of circumambulation of lamps (*nīrājana*) is especially well-known as an apotropic and prophylactic rite and is to be performed for elephants in the months of Phālguna, Āṣāḍha and Kārttika (Hastyā. IV. 16.52). According to *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* IV. 71.27ff, the rite of circumambulation of lamps is to be performed on the eleventh day of the white fortnight of the Kārttika month for cattle, buffaloes and elephants. Hastyā. IV. 36.7 describes the significance of the rite of circumambulation of lamps. Thus this rite is to be performed for averting the diseases and pacifying the evil beings like Rakṣas, Pannaga, Piśāca, some dangerous gods like Rudra and other divine attacks. An expiatory rite also can serve as prophylatic. Thus according to Hastyā. II. 46 an expiatory rite is to be performed in order to protect the elephant-kids from diseases.

Conclusions :

In this way we may notice that there are numerous magicoreligious prophylactics described in ancient Indian medicinal texts. They mainly consist of good conduct in its positive and negative sense. In the positive sense are included among others the numerous performances of ritual. The negative prophylactics imply the carefulness required in connection with observing some taboos. It may be noticed in this context that many positive prophylactics are of the same nature as that of many ways of curing e.g., offerings, worships, prayers etc. While studying the prophylactic rules of behaviour as described in the ancient Indian medicinal texts particularly in connection with the food etc., one is likely to lose the context and be tempted to find there, proleptically and anachronistically, some emphasis on hygienic cleanliness in the modern sense. I feel that this will be an overenthusiastic adventure which will keep us away from the exact understanding of the evidence that is offered to us by the texts. Thus if we try to be impartial enough and remain aware of the context, we need not hesitate to say that all the references to washing hands feet, face, or mouth (cf. Caraka. Sūtra. 8.20; cp. Suśruta.

Cikitsā. 24.98) are significant from the magicoreligious point of view rather than modern hygienic point of view. Thus washing hands etc., is an apotropic means for removing away the evil beings (causes of diseases) and becoming worthy of taking food which is not just a profane but a sacred act. Similarly, the prophylactic rule prohibiting one from using things like shoes, old clothes used by others (Suśruta. Cikitsā. 24.99) is not to be understood in the modern hygienic point of view. For this rule implies that one should keep oneself guarded from any bad effects coming out of contagious magic. Thus we can be able to understand the prophylactic rules only if we keep ourselves attentive to the general tone of the prophylactic rules as a whole and of the general doctrine that underlies all such rules. This doctrine is magicoreligious one. Diseases are sometimes considered to be caused by the sins committed in the earlier existence. By observing prophylactic rules of behaviour and thereby avoiding sins, one not only preserves one's health in *this* existence but in the *next* also.

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पूर्वमीमांसायां प्रमाणानि

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श्रीमहामहोपाध्याय - कुप्पुस्वामिशास्त्रिणां जन्मशताब्दी - महोत्सवस्य अङ्गभूतेऽस्मिन् शास्त्र-विचारप्रसङ्गे पूर्वमीमांसामधिकृत्य मया किञ्चित् पत्रं पठनीयमिति प्रोत्साहितोऽस्मि।

भाट्टप्रस्थानम्, प्राभाकरप्रस्थानमिति भिन्ने मीमांसाशास्त्रमहापथे यानि विषयरत्नानि तत्र तत्र विशीर्णानि तानि सर्वाणि अत्र एतैर्निर्दिष्टेऽतिसङ्कुचिते काले सङ्ग्रहेणापि क्रोडीकृत्य वर्णनीयानि न भवन्ति। अतश्च प्रस्थानद्वयोक्तविषयाणां रूपरेखाचित्रणं प्रथमतः प्रदर्श्य अनन्तरं मीमांसाशास्त्रोक्तानि प्रमाणानि अधिकृत्य किञ्चित् वक्तुं इच्छामि।

तत्र भाट्टप्राभाकरयोस्सामान्यभूतास्त्विमे विषयाः—१. वेदस्य स्वतः प्रामाण्यम्, नित्यत्वञ्च, २. मन्त्रार्थवाद-इतिहासपुराणानां विधिशेषत्वेन प्रामाण्यम्, स्वतःप्रामाण्याभावः, ३. स्वर्गभूपाताललोकानां नित्यत्वम्, ४. निरीश्वरत्वम्, ५. चेतनाचेतनात्मकविश्वस्यानेकत्वम्, ६. इन्द्रादिदेवतानां विग्रहाभावः, चतुर्थ्यन्तपदमात्रत्वञ्च, ७. धर्मस्य अग्निहोत्रदर्शपूर्णमासपशुबन्धसोमयागात्मकत्वम्, ८. मोक्षस्य आत्मनः स्वरूपावस्थानात्मकत्वम् इतीमे विषया उभयोरविवादविषयीभूताः सामान्याः।

प्राभाकरेभ्यः भाट्टाः क्व भिद्यन्त इत्यस्मिन् विषये केचन श्लोका दृश्यन्ते—(दृश्यतां मानरत्नावली R 3747. MGOML)

“संविदोऽस्वप्रकाशत्वम्, अन्यथाख्यातिसंशयौ।
कर्मदिकालवियताम् प्रत्यक्षज्ञानगम्यता॥
ध्वनेर्विभुत्वनित्यत्वे मनसोऽस्पन्दवैभवे।
भिन्नाभिन्नत्वम्, एकस्य समवायस्य नास्तिता॥
विभुद्वयस्य संयोगः, नित्यत्वं तस्य चात्मनः।
ज्ञेयत्वं मुक्तिवेलायाम्, नित्यानन्दानुभाविता॥

अभावप्रकटत्वञ्च शक्तेरननुमेयता।
गुणत्वमन्धकारस्य पुञ्जिरां स्वार्थमानता॥
पृथिवीत्वादिसामान्यम्, रूपत्वाद्याश्च जातयः।
अनन्विताभिधानञ्च वेदस्याकार्यमानता॥

श्रुतार्थापत्तिरित्येतेषु स्थलेषु प्रतियोगिनः ।
प्राभाकरा निराकार्या भाट्टमार्गानुसारिणा ॥ इति "

अनेन भाट्टैरस्वीकृताः प्राभाकरैरस्वीकृताश्च विषया ज्ञायन्ते ।

प्राभाकरैस्स्वीकृतास्सिद्धान्तास्तु इमे - अनुभूतेः प्रमाणत्वम्, प्रत्यक्षानुमानशास्त्रोपमानार्थापत्त्याख्यानि पञ्च प्रमाणानि, साक्षात्प्रतीतिः प्रत्यक्षम्, व्याप्यदर्शनात् असन्निकृष्टविज्ञानमनुमानम्, तत्र निरुपाधिकसम्बन्धो व्याप्तिः, व्याप्ति - पक्ष - धर्मता - ज्ञानाभ्यामेवानुमितिः, हेत्वाभासचतुष्टयम्, व्यतिरेकदृष्टान्ताभावत्वम्, शास्त्रस्यैव प्रामाण्यम्, लौकिकशब्दानामनुमेयत्वम्, शक्तेरतिरिक्तपदार्थत्वम्, कार्यमेव विध्यर्थः, नियोगापरपर्याये कार्ये लिङादीनां शक्तिः लौकिके क्रियाकार्ये लक्षणा, अन्विताभिधानवादः, दृष्टार्थापत्तिरेकैव, अनुपलब्धेः प्रमाणान्तरत्वाभावः, द्रव्यगुणकर्मसामान्यशक्तिसादृश्यसंख्यासमवायाश्चेति पदार्थाष्टकम्, पृथिव्यप्तेजोवाय्वाकाशकालदिगात्ममनांसि नव द्रव्याणि, कालाकाशदिशामनुमेयता, जरायुजाण्डजस्वेदजभेदभिन्नं त्रिविधं शरीरम्, आश्रयविधया आत्मनस्सर्वत्र प्रकाशः, आनुमानिकेश्वराभावः, परं वेदसिद्ध ईश्वरः, ज्ञानस्य स्वप्रकाशता, तमस अभावता, अख्यातिवादः, नियोगसिद्धिरेव मोक्ष इति स्वीकृत्य नित्यकर्मानुष्ठानेन विफलीकृते सञ्चितकर्मजाते निर्मल आत्मा आसक्तिरहितः शास्त्रप्रामाण्यदत्तहस्तावलम्बः कर्तव्यबुध्या कर्माणि अनुतिष्ठन् निरासक्त्या प्रारब्धदुःखानि सेवमानः ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयी यदा विरुद्धं अनुकूलं वा न सेवते तेन संस्कारानुदयात् देहेन्द्रियादिसम्बन्धो विच्छिन्नो भवति स एव मोक्ष इतीमे स्वीकृता विषयाः ।

प्राभाकरमीमांसकानां निबन्धाः जगति लुप्तप्रायाः । भाट्टमतानुयायिभिः षट्प्रामाण्यवादिभिः बहुत्र खण्डितत्वात् नैयायिकादिभिः नवीनतर्कमण्यादिग्रन्थैः, व्यवहारे भाट्टनय इति वेदान्तिभिः उपलालनपूर्वकं स्वीकृत्य आत्मादिविचारप्रसङ्गात् प्राभाकरमतस्य खण्डितत्वात्, विशेषतः प्राभाकरमतीयानां दिग्गजपण्डितानामभावाच्च प्राभाकरसिद्धान्तस्यावनतिरुत्पन्ना । शास्त्रदीपिकायाः न्यायरत्नमालायाश्च प्रचारादनन्तरं प्राभाकरसिद्धान्तानां ह्रासस्सुतरां सञ्जातः । पार्थसारथिमिश्रेण शास्त्रदीपिकायां सोपहासं सोल्लुण्ठनं सधिक्कारं साग्रहं सकोपञ्च खण्डितस्य प्राभाकरसिद्धान्तस्य नाद्यावधि कश्चिदुद्धर्ता दृश्यते ।

तत्र यथा प्रमाणानां विशिष्य विचाराय न्यायशास्त्रस्य, प्रमेयाणां विचाराय वैशेषिकशास्त्रस्य च ऐदम्पर्येण प्रवृत्तिः तत्र तद्विचारः प्रधानविषयीभूतः, न तथा शास्त्रान्तरस्य तथापि यस्य शास्त्रस्य यः प्रधानविषयः तमनपायं साधयितुं तत्तच्छास्त्रविदः यत्र शास्त्रान्तरविरोधः प्रसज्यते तत्र अन्यादृशम् एव पन्थानं स्वकीयं कमपि नवीनमाकलयन्तः शास्त्रान्तरकारान् अभियोक्तुं सन्नह्यन्ति । रत्नतत्त्वपरीक्षकाः रत्नानि परीक्षितुं निकषोपलमिव प्रमेयतत्वपरीक्षकाः प्रमाणं साधनतया स्वीकुर्वन्ति । तथा च शास्त्रकार एकैकोऽपि प्रमाणव्यवस्थापनकृते इतरैस्साकं वादसंग्रामभूमिं बलान्नीयते । ततश्च वेदार्थविचारैकोद्देशेन प्रवृत्तानामपि मीमांसकानां प्रमाणपर्यालोचनमपि कर्तव्यं आवश्यकम् आपद्यत ।

तत्र प्रमाणविषयकाः प्रधानभूताः ग्रन्थाः मीमांसाशास्त्रे विरला एव । सूत्रकारो जैमिनिः प्रथमाध्याये प्रत्यक्षानुमानशब्दानां प्रामाण्यं स्वयं कण्ठरवेण आवेदयति । तथा सूत्रेषु प्रमेयविशेषाङ्गीकार-सूचनमपि क्वाचित्कमेव । परं भाष्यकारः प्रथमे पादे वृत्तिकारमतनिरूपणप्रसङ्गे षट् प्रमाणानि, तदुपयोगितया आत्मज्ञानादिकतिपयप्रमेयविचारञ्च प्रास्तावीत् । एष एव विषयः कुमारिलभट्टेन **श्लोकवार्तिके** बहुलीकृतो दृश्यते । एवं **श्लोकवार्तिक**व्याख्याने **न्यायरत्नाकरे** भट्टोंवेकविरचितायाम् **तात्पर्यटीकायाम्**, **शास्त्रदीपिका**प्रथमपादे च विशदीकृतः । एते च प्राचीनग्रन्थाः । **भाट्टचिन्ता-मणिः मानमेयोदय**श्चेति ग्रन्थद्वयं विषयस्यास्य ज्ञानाय बहूपकरोति ।

प्राभाकरीयसिद्धान्तस्य तदीयप्रमाणप्रमेयविचारस्य च ज्ञानाय **प्रकरणपञ्चिका, प्राभाकर-विजयः, तन्त्ररहस्यम्**, इत्यादिग्रन्थेषु केचन भागाः, भाट्टसिद्धान्तप्रधानभूतायां **शास्त्रदीपिकायां** **पू**र्वपक्षत्वेन अनूदिताश्च विषया उपकुर्वन्ति ।

सङ्क्षेपविवरणम्

अत्र पत्रे प्रत्यक्षविषये भाट्टानां प्राभाकराणाञ्च मतं लक्षणञ्च संनिकर्षविवेचनपूर्वकं वर्णितम् । एवमेव प्राभाकरभाट्टमते निर्विकल्पकसविकल्पविषयकसिद्धान्ताः योगजप्रत्यक्षाभावत्वञ्चेतीमे तदुक्तयुक्ति-भिरुपवर्णिताः । अनुमानविषये भाट्टप्राभाकरमतभेदः, व्याप्तिस्मृतिपक्षधर्मताज्ञानजन्यं ज्ञानमिति-भाट्टानुमितिलक्षणम्, नैयायिकोक्तसामान्यलक्षण - ज्ञानलक्षण - योगजप्रत्यासत्तीनां खण्डनञ्चेतीमे विषयाः, केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमानखण्डनखण्डनम्, अवयवत्रयस्वीकारः, भाट्टमते हेत्वाभासत्रयम्, प्राभाकरे हेत्वाभास-चतुष्कमिति चेमे विषयाः विचारिताः । सादृश्यमूलकत्वमुपमानस्य प्राभाकररीत्योपवर्ण्य तस्यातिरिक्तं प्रामाण्यं भाट्टप्राभाकररीत्या निर्णीतम् । शाब्दप्रमाणनिरूपणावसरे शास्त्रस्वरूपविचारः मीमांसकरीत्या शाब्दबोधविचारः, अभिधालक्षणागौणीनां स्वरूपवर्णनम्, प्राभाकररीत्या अन्विताभिधानवादः, भाट्टरीत्या अभिहितान्वयवादः, वेदार्थविचारपद्धत्यां प्राभाकरस्य नैयायिकभाट्टवैशेषिकेभ्यो भिन्ना काचनापरा पद्धतिश्चोपवर्णिता । एवमर्थापत्तिविषये भाट्टानां प्राभाकराणाञ्च सिद्धान्तभेदः प्राभाकरीये श्रुतार्थापत्तेरस्वीकारश्चोपवर्णितः । भाट्टमतेनानुपलब्धिविचारः प्रभाकरमतेनानुपलब्धिखण्डनञ्चोपवर्णितम् ।

तत्र अनधिगताबाधितार्थविषयकज्ञानजनकं यत्तत् प्रमाणमिति भाट्टाः, अनुभूतिः प्रमाणम्, अनुभूतिश्च स्मृतिव्यतिरिक्ता संविदिति वदन्तः प्राभाकराः संस्कारातिरिक्तकारणाजन्यत्वे सति ज्ञानत्वम् इति प्रमाणलक्षणञ्च वदन्ति ।

प्रमाण-भेदाः

प्रमाणञ्च प्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दार्थापत्ति - अनुपलब्धिभेदेन षड्विधमिति **भाट्टाः** । प्रत्यक्षानु-मानशाब्दार्थापत्तिरिति पञ्चविधमिति **प्राभाकराः** । प्रत्यक्षादीनां पञ्चप्रमाणानां भावविषयकत्वेन अभावविषयकं

पृथक्प्रमाणमनुपलब्धिरूपमावश्यकमिति भाट्टाशयः । प्रत्यक्षादीनां यादृशभावविषयकत्वं तादृशभाव-सम्बन्ध्यभावविषयकत्वमपि तेषामेव प्रमाणानां सम्भवन्तीति वदन्तो **नैयायिकाः** अनुपलब्धेः पृथक्प्रामाण्यम् निरस्यन्ति । **प्राभाकरास्तु** अभावरूपप्रमेयस्यैवाप्रसिद्धत्वात् तत्प्रमापणाय प्रमाणान्तराभ्युपायो निरर्थक इत्यनुपलब्धिं त्यक्त्वा प्रमाणपञ्चकवादिनो भवन्ति ।

तत्र प्रमाणेषु प्रत्यक्षानुमानशब्दानां नामनिर्देशं स्वयं कण्ठरवेण सूत्रकार आवेदयति —

१. **सत्सम्प्रयोगे पुरुषस्येन्द्रियाणां बुद्धिजन्म सत्प्रत्यक्षम्** (1-1-4)

२. **अपि वा कर्तृसामान्यात् प्रमाणमनुमानं स्यात्** (1-3-2)

३. **औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन सह सम्बन्धः तस्य ज्ञानमुपदेशः** (1-1-5) इति

एवं शालिकनाथोऽपि **प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां "साक्षात् प्रतीतिः प्रत्यक्षम्"**
(पृ. 51 & 127) इति,

"ज्ञातसम्बन्धनियमस्यैकदेशस्य दर्शनात् ।
एकदेशान्तरे बुद्धिरनुमानमबाधिते" ॥ (प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ. 64 & 128)

"शास्त्रं शब्दविदा यदसन्निकृष्टार्थविज्ञानम्" ॥ (प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ. 87 & 128)

"सादृश्यज्ञानोत्थं ज्ञानं सादृश्यविषयमुपमानम्" (प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ. 110 & 128),

"विना कल्पनयार्थेन दृष्टेनानुपपन्नताम् ।
नयता दृष्टमर्थं या सार्थापत्तिस्तु कल्पना ॥" (प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ. 113 & 128)

इति च प्रत्यक्षादीनों लक्षणं प्रतिपादयति ।

प्रत्यक्षम्

तत्र पदार्थैरस्माकं साक्षादिन्द्रियाणां संनिकर्षे सति जायमानं ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षमिति परेषामिव मीमांसकानामपि सम्मतम् । प्रत्यक्षकारणीभूतानि चक्षुरादीनि मनोन्तानि षडिन्द्रियाणि । इन्द्रियार्थ-संनिकर्षविषयेषु नैयायिकाभिमतेषु संयोगः, संयुक्तसमवायः संयुक्तसमवेतसमवायः, समवेतसमवायः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावश्चेति षट्सु आद्यान् त्रीन् स्वीकुर्वन्ति । आकाशगुणस्य शब्दस्य ग्रहणाय श्रोत्रेण समवायसंनिकर्षो नैयायिकानाम् । दिशःश्रोत्रम् (तै. ब्रा. ३-६-६) इति श्रुतिवाक्यं प्रमाणयन्तः मीमांसकाः श्रोत्रस्य दिगात्मकताम् स्वीकुर्वन्ति ।

यदि ह्यवश्यं वक्तव्यं तार्किकोक्तविपर्ययः ।
ततो वेदानुसारेण कार्या दिक्श्रोत्रता मतिः ॥ (श्लोकवार्तिके 767 - 68)

इति ।

ततश्च शब्दस्य द्रव्यत्वेन संयोगरूपसंनिकर्षस्य संभवात् न समवायसंनिकर्षस्यावश्यकता। शब्दवृत्तिसामान्यस्य संयुक्ततादात्म्यसंनिकर्षेणैव ग्रहणसंभवेन जातिगुणकर्मणां द्रव्येण तादात्म्याङ्गीकाराच्च न समवेतसमवायोऽपि अपेक्षितः।

रूपादीनान्तु संयुक्तद्रव्यतादात्म्यमेव नः।
प्रतीतिकारणं, तस्मात् न सम्बन्धान्तरस्पृहा ॥ (मानमेयोदये पृ. 6)

एवमभावस्य अनुपलब्धिरूपप्रमाणान्तरगोचरस्य प्रत्यक्षज्ञानाभावेन तत्कृते संनिकर्षो नापेक्ष्यत इति विशेषणविशेष्यभावरूपस्संनिकर्षोऽपि एतन्मते नाभ्युपेयते। एवञ्च षडिन्द्रियात्मकं त्रिसंनिकर्षकमेव एतन्मते प्रत्यक्षप्रमाणम्।

तच्च प्रत्यक्षं द्विविधम्-निर्विकल्पकम्, सविकल्पकञ्चेति। इन्द्रियसंनिकर्षानन्तरमेव विषयस्वरूपमात्रावगाहि शब्दानुगमशून्यं यत् संमुग्धाकारं ज्ञानं जायते तन्निर्विकल्पकम्। तदानीं तत्र जातिगुणक्रियादिकल्पनाः न क्रमन्ते। अतश्च जात्यादि कल्पनाशून्यं ज्ञानं निर्विकल्पकम्। जात्यादि-विशिष्टवस्तुविषयं इन्द्रियसंनिकर्षानन्तरं शब्दस्मरणसहकृतं गौरियं, रक्तोऽयमित्यादिविशिष्टज्ञानं कल्पना-विशिष्टत्वात् सविकल्पकमित्युच्यते।

"ततः परं पुनर्वस्तु धर्मैर्जात्यादिभिर्यथा।
बुध्यावसीयेत सापि प्रत्यक्षत्वेन सम्मता ॥ (श्लो. वा 150)
चन्द्रशब्दाभिधेयत्वं शशिनो यो निषेधति।
स सर्वलोकसिद्धेन चन्द्रशब्देन बाध्यते ॥ (do 321)
अस्ति ह्यालोचनाज्ञानं प्रथमं निर्विकल्पकम्।
बालमूकादिविज्ञानसदृशं शुद्धवस्तुजम् ॥ (do 147)
न विशेषो न सामान्यं तदानीम् अनुभूयते ॥" (do 148)

एवं निर्विकल्पकं ज्ञानं जात्यादिकल्पनारहितं वस्तुमात्रग्राहीत्युक्तम्। सविकल्पके च पञ्चधा विकल्पो भवति—जातिद्रव्यगुणकर्मनामभिः। तत्र गौरित्यत्र जात्या विकल्पः। दण्डवानित्यत्र द्रव्येण विकल्पः। नीलोऽयमित्यत्र गुणेन विकल्पः। गायकोऽयमित्यत्र क्रियया विकल्पः। सोमदत्तोऽय-मित्यत्र नाम्ना विकल्पः। एवं सुरभि चन्दनमित्यत्र सौरभांशे स्मृतित्वम्, चन्दनांशे चाक्षुषत्वम्। योगिनां असंनिकृष्टविषयकप्रत्यक्षन्तु निरन्तरचिन्तनात्मकभावनाविशेषजन्यमेवेति भावनाबलोत्पन्नं ज्ञानं स्मृतिरेव। तादृशयोगिनामप्रसिद्धेरिति भाट्टानां प्रत्यक्षविषयकोऽयं सिद्धान्तः।

प्राभाकरमते तु साक्षात्प्रतीतिः प्रत्यक्षमित्युच्यते । "साक्षात्प्रतीतिः प्रत्यक्षम् । साक्षात्प्रतीतिः स्वरूपप्रतिपत्तिः । स्वस्यैव रूपं स्वरूपम् - असाधारणमित्यर्थः । यस्य वस्तुनो यदसाधारणं स्वरूपं तेनैव रूपेण या व्यवहारयति सा साक्षात् प्रतीतिः अव्यवहितप्रतीतिः साक्षात्प्रतीतिः । अव्यवहितत्वञ्च स्वविषयानन्तर्गतज्ञानान्तराव्यवहितत्वम् । साक्षात्वञ्च स्वकालाकलितवस्तुसत्तावबोधकत्वम्" इति (प्राभाकरविजये पृ. 26)।

"साक्षात्प्रतीतिः प्रत्यक्षम्, साक्षात्वञ्च आपरोक्ष्यं विशदावभास इति । तच्च सर्वसंवित्तीनां आत्मस्वात्मांशयोः । ऐन्द्रियकज्ञानेषु तु अंशत्रयानुगतसाक्षात् व्यवहारहेतुः पारोक्ष्यविलक्षणः स्वानुभवसिद्धो धर्मविशेषः । इन्द्रियार्थसंनिकर्षोत्पन्नं ज्ञानमिति तु न लक्षणम् । स्मृतेरात्मस्वांशयोरव्याप्तेः । स्मृतावप्यंश-द्वयमैन्द्रियकज्ञानमिव साक्षादवभासते । अतस्साक्षात् व्यवहारहेतुरित्येव लक्षणम्" (तन्त्ररहस्ये पृ. 8)।

तत्र लक्षणवाक्यघटकं साक्षात्वं- स्वेन रूपेण मानमिति, स्वोत्पत्तौ स्वविषयानन्तर्गतार्थान्तरज्ञानापेक्ष-स्वभावमिति, स्वकालाकलितवस्तुसत्तावबोधकत्वञ्चेति त्रिविधं स्वीकृतम् । अनुमाने लिङ्गादिसम्बन्धितारूपेण वस्तुनो भानमिति न साक्षात्वं स्वेन रूपेणेति नातिव्याप्तिः । सविकल्पकप्रत्यक्षे नामादिरूपतो वस्तुनः भानेऽपि स्वरूपतो भानमस्तीति नाव्याप्तिः । स्वोत्पत्तौ स्वविषयानन्तर्गतार्थान्तरज्ञानानपेक्षस्वभावत्वं साक्षात्वमिति द्वितीयपक्षेणापि न व्यभिचारः । सविकल्पकज्ञानस्य निर्विकल्पकसापेक्षत्वेऽपि स्वविषया-नन्तर्गतार्थान्तरविषयत्वाभावात् । स्वकालाकलितवस्तुसत्तावबोधकत्वं साक्षात्वमिति तृतीयपक्षेणापि अनुमानं व्याप्तिकालावच्छिन्नवस्तुसत्तावबोधकमिति स्वकालाकलितत्वाभावात् न प्रत्यक्षं भवति । एवञ्च साक्षात्प्रतीतिः प्रत्यक्षमिति लक्षणं भवति ।

प्राभाकरमते घटचक्षुसंयोगे जाते नैयायिकानामिव अयं घट इति व्यवसायात्मकं ज्ञानं न स्वीक्रियते किन्तु घटमहं जानामीत्यनुव्यवसायात्मकं एव ज्ञानं स्वीक्रियते । ज्ञानम् ज्ञाता ज्ञेयम्, मितिः माता मेयमिति चैतत् त्रितयं त्रिपुटीत्यभिधीयते । सर्वेषु ज्ञानेषु आत्मा कर्तैव न तु कर्म । परसमवेतक्रियाजन्यफलशालित्वं कर्मणो लक्षणम् । अतस्स जडो भवति । घटादिविषयस्तु जड एव । यदि ज्ञानमपि जडं स्यात् तर्हि समस्तस्यापि जगत अन्धतापत्तिः । तस्मात् ज्ञानं स्वप्रकाशं अर्थात्मनोः प्रकाशकञ्च । तच्च ज्ञानं आश्रयविधया आत्मानम्, विषयविधया घटादिकञ्च प्रकाशयति ।

अत्र ज्ञानं यद्यपि न स्वात्मानं विषयीकरोति न वा आत्मानम्, तथापि तादात्म्येन स्वस्मिन् व्यवहारं प्रयोजयति, स्वसमवायेन आत्मनि च व्यवहारं प्रयोजयतीति कश्चन पक्षः । ज्ञानं

एवं स्वाश्रयञ्च विषयीकुर्वन् स्वव्यवहारं स्वाश्रयव्यवहारञ्च प्रयोजयतीत्यपरः पक्षः। पक्षोऽयं शालिकनाथेन **प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां (पृ. 147) तत्त्वालोके** विस्तृतः। किन्तु प्राभाकरमते संनिकर्षास्त्रय एव, संयोगः, संयुक्तसमवायः, समवायश्चेति। रूपत्वादीनामभावात् संयुक्तसमवेतसमवायो नाश्रितः। शब्दत्वास्याभावात् समवेतसमवायोऽपि नाश्रितः। अभावस्य चाभावात् समवायस्य च प्रत्यक्षत्वाभावात् विशेषणविशेष्यभावोऽपि नाश्रित इति **मानमेयोदये** प्रतिपादितम्।

तच्च प्रत्यक्षं द्विविधम् - निर्विकल्पकम् सविकल्पकञ्चेति। तयोर्निर्विकल्पकं स्वरूपविषयम्। विषयेण इन्द्रियसम्प्रयोगानन्तरं प्रथमतः द्रव्यगुणजातिषु स्वरूपमात्रज्ञानं जायते। तस्य ज्ञानस्य जातिगुणयोरप्यवभासात् न द्रव्यमात्रं विषयः। अतश्च योग्यं सर्वमपीति निर्विकल्पकं स्वरूपविषयम्। सविकल्पकन्तु विशिष्टविषयम्। निर्विकल्पकदशायां वस्त्वन्तरानुसन्धानशून्यतया जातेरनुवृत्तिर्निवृत्तिर्वा न प्रतीयते। सविकल्पकदशायान्तु तदनुसन्धाने पूर्वाकारावमर्शेन जातेरनुवृत्तिप्रतीतिः। अयं घटः, अयमपि घटः, न तु पट इति विशिष्टप्रतीतिसम्भवः। तथा गुणप्रतीतावपि। पूर्वं द्रव्यगुणयोरन्योन्यं व्यावर्त्यव्यावर्तकभेदो न प्रतीयते। सविकल्पकदशायान्तु गुणस्य गुणिना सह अन्वयः, इतरेभ्यो व्यतिरेकश्च पश्चादेव प्रतीयते। यथा शुक्लो घटः न कृष्ण इति विशिष्टप्रतीतिसम्भव इति सविकल्पकं विशिष्टप्रतीतिविषयमिति स्वीक्रियते। उक्तञ्च **प्रकरणपञ्चिकायाम्** - अमृतकलायाम् (पृ. 127 & 54)

"सविकल्पा अविकल्पा च प्रत्यक्षा बुद्धिरिष्यते।
आद्या विशिष्टविषया स्वरूपविषयेतरा॥" इति।

अनुमानम्

"ज्ञातसम्बन्धस्य एकदेशदर्शनादेकदेशान्तरेऽसन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे बुद्धिरनुमानम्" इति शाबरभाष्ये (पृ. 8) तात्पर्यटीकायाञ्च (पृ. 303) दृश्यते। पक्षधर्मिणि एकदेशिनि पर्वतादौ, एकदेशदर्शनात् - धूमाद्यात्मकलिङ्गरूपैकदेशदर्शनात्, एकदेशान्तरे - वह्न्याद्यात्मकलिङ्गरूपैकदेशान्तरे, असन्निकृष्टे इन्द्रियसन्निकर्षाभाववत्यर्थे या बुद्धिरुत्पद्यते तदनुमानमित्यर्थः। **"सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिष्टात्र लिङ्गधर्मस्य लिङ्गिना" इति श्लोकवार्तिके** (पृ. 305) दर्शनात् साध्येन हेतोः सम्बन्धो व्याप्तिलक्षणः। सा च व्याप्तिर्भूयोदर्शनेन गृह्यते।

भूयोदर्शनगम्या हि व्याप्तिस्सामान्यधर्मयोः।
ज्ञायते भेदहानेन क्वचिच्चापि विशेषयोः॥ श्लो. वा. (पृ. 308)।

एवञ्च व्याप्तिस्मृतिपक्षधर्मताज्ञानजन्यं ज्ञानं अनुमितिरिति लक्षणं भवति।

तत्र अनुमानहेतोर्व्याप्तेरवगमनकाले महानसवर्तिधूमे एव तादृशव्याप्तेर्गृहीतत्वात् कालान्तरे पक्षवृत्तिधूमव्यक्त्यन्तरेण अनुमितिर्नोपपद्यते । तस्यां पूर्वं वह्निव्याप्तेरनवगतत्वात् इति सङ्कटमिदं परिजिहीर्षवो नैयायिकाः महानसे यदा एकस्याः धूमव्यक्तेः प्रत्यक्षम्, तदा कालान्तरवृत्तीनां सर्वासामेव धूमव्यक्तीनां प्रत्यक्षत्वमिति परिकल्प्य, तासु च तदानीमेव वह्निव्याप्तिरपि गृहीता भवतीति स्वीकुर्वन्ति । तत्रानुमितेरपि प्रत्यक्षात्मकत्ववारणाय साक्षादिन्द्रियसंनिकर्षवन्तं पदार्थं विषयीकृत्य जायमानं ज्ञानमेव प्रत्यक्षमिति सर्वेषां शास्त्रकाराणां नियमः । सत्येवं महानसवृत्तिधूमप्रत्यक्षे यथा संनिकर्षः संयोगः, तथा तत्काले जायमानधूमान्तरप्रत्यक्षेऽपि केनचित् संनिकर्षेण भवितव्यम् । एतत्कृते सामान्यलक्षणसंनिकर्षः कल्प्यते । इन्द्रियेण साक्षात्सम्बद्धो धूमः तद्वृत्तिसामान्यं धूमत्वम्, एतच्च देशान्तरकालान्तरवृत्तिसर्वधूमव्यक्तिषु वर्तेत इति एतादृशसामान्यद्वारा तादृशधूमान्तरव्यक्तीनामपि संनिकर्षवत्त्वात् महानसधूमप्रत्यक्षकाले संयोगरूपसंनिकर्षेण तस्यैव तादृशसामान्यरूपसंनिकर्षेण अन्यासामपि धूमव्यक्तीनां प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वमुपपद्यते ।

एवं चक्षुस्संनिकृष्टे चन्दनखण्डे सुरभि चन्दनमिति प्रत्यक्षं जायते । तत्र संयोगसंनिकर्षेण पार्थिवद्रव्यस्य चन्दनस्य प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वे चक्षुरिन्द्रियाग्राह्यसौरभस्य प्रत्यक्षविषयत्वं नोपपद्यते, अतः द्रव्यग्रहणकाले यथाकथमप्युपस्थितस्य सौरभस्य साक्षाच्चक्षुस्संनिकृष्टचन्दनप्रत्यक्षे भानं अङ्गीकर्तव्यम् । विना च संनिकर्षमेतदयोगात्, क्लृप्तसंनिकर्षेष्वन्यतमस्याप्यसम्भवाच्च तदुपस्थितिरेव तत्र संनिकर्ष इति ज्ञानरूपोऽयमावश्यकस्संनिकर्ष इति ज्ञानलक्षणसंनिकर्षस्स्वीकृतः । तथा चक्षुरादीन्द्रियपथमतिक्रान्तेऽपि वस्तुनि योगिनां प्रत्यक्षोदयात् योगजसंनिकर्षोऽपि नैयायिकैः स्वीकृतः ।

तदिदं मीमांसका न स्वीकुर्वन्ति । एतेषामयमाशयः - यत्र यस्याः व्यक्तेरनुमितिः तत्र व्याप्तिसम्पत्तये तया व्यक्त्या अनुभूतपूर्वया भवितव्यमिति न निर्बन्धः, येन तदनुरोधेन यत्र यत्र धूमस्तत्र तत्र वह्निरिति, यो यो धूमवान् स स वह्निमानिति वा अनुमानोपयुक्तायाः व्याप्तेः स्वरूपमभ्युपगच्छन्तः तादृशव्याप्तिग्रहणाय सामान्यलक्षणां प्रत्यासत्तिं स्वीकुर्महे । अपि तु यज्जातीयेन अनुमानं तज्जातीयस्य यत्र यत्र धर्मिणि दर्शनं तत्र तत्र नियतं लौकिकप्रत्यक्षगम्यं साध्यसजातीयसामान्याधिकरण्यं व्याप्तिः । इयमेवानुमानोपयोगिनीति इयं च यस्य यावन्ति सम्भवन्ति तस्य तावद्भिः भूयोदर्शनैः लौकिकप्रत्यक्षात्मकैरेव दृष्टेषु धर्मिषु व्यभिचारादर्शनसहकृतैरवगम्यत इति च न स्वीकृता सामान्यलक्षणा प्रत्यासत्तिः ।

एवं प्राक्तनसौरभानुभवजनितसंस्कारसचिवेन इन्द्रियसंनिकर्षेण सुरभि चन्दनमिति प्रत्यक्षे उपपद्यमाने न तत्र ज्ञानलक्षणाप्रत्यासत्तिरूपस्य संनिकर्षान्तरस्यावश्यकता तत्र सौरभांशे स्मृतित्वम्, इतरांशे चाक्षुषानुभवत्वमिति परं विशेषः । प्रत्यभिज्ञायामयमंशस्सर्वाभ्युपगतः । यथा प्रमास्वप्यंशतः प्रमात्वम्, संशयेष्वपि अंशतः निश्चयत्वम्, तथात्राप्यंशभेदेन विरुद्धधर्मावेश इति न ज्ञानलक्षणाया आवश्यकता ।

योगिनामसंनिकृष्टमिति यदुक्तम्, तत्र तादृशयोगिनामप्रसिद्धेः, अनुभूतस्यैव योगिनां निरन्तर-चिन्तनात्मकभावनाविशेषेणोपस्थितिः, न त्वननुभूतस्येति स्वीकाराच्च योगिनां भावनाबलजं ज्ञानं स्मृतिरेवेति न योगजसंनिकर्षोऽप्यावश्यक इति मीमांसकाः। एवञ्च - "**भूयोदर्शनगम्या च व्याप्तिः सामान्यधर्मयोः**"। (**श्लोकवार्तिके** पृ. 308) इत्येषां व्याप्तिलक्षणम्।

नैयायिकाः अन्वयव्यतिरेकि-केवलान्वयि-केवलव्यतिरेकि इति त्रेधा अनुमानं विभजन्ते। तत्र केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमानं मीमांसकानामनभिमतम्। अत्र हि प्रकृतपक्षादन्यत्र अप्रसिद्धस्यैव पदार्थस्य साध्यत्वं वक्तव्यम्। एतस्मिंश्च स्वीकृते अदृष्टाद्यलौकिकार्थानामपि अनुमानविषयत्वं प्रसज्येत इति बिभ्यतो मीमांसकास्तन्निरसने जागरूका दृश्यन्ते।

अनुमानं स्वार्थपरार्थभेदेन द्विविधम्। यत्र स्वयमेव हेतुं दृष्ट्वा व्याप्त्यादिस्मरणेन साध्यमनुमिनोति तत्स्वार्थानुमानम्। यत्र तु स्वप्रतिपन्नमर्थमनुमानेन परं बोधयितुं वाक्यं उच्चार्यते तत् परार्थानुमानम्। तच्च वाक्यं न नैयायिकादिवत् पञ्चावयवम्। किन्तु त्र्यवयवमेव। प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणानि, उदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानि वा। प्रतिज्ञानिगमनयोः हेतूपनययोश्च एकेन अन्यतरस्य चरितार्थतया समुच्चित्य उभयोरेकत्रोपपादने पुनरुक्तिप्रसङ्ग इति मीमांसकानामाशयः। हेत्वाभासाश्च असिद्ध - अनैकान्तिक - बाधकाश्चेति त्रय एव। तेषां लक्षणोदाहरणानि विस्तरभयात् त्यज्यन्ते। इदं भाट्टमतरीत्या।

प्राभाकरमते तु एवम् - प्राभाकराः भाष्यकारेण शबरस्वामिना निर्दिष्टे अनुमानलक्षणे नियमपदं अबाधितपदञ्च संयोज्य अनुमानलक्षणं निर्दिशन्ति—

ज्ञातसम्बन्धनियमस्यैकदेशस्य दर्शनात्।
एकदेशान्तरे बुद्धिरनुमानमबाधिते॥ (**प्रकरणपञ्चिका** पृ. 6 & 64)

इति। एकाश्रितयोरेकदेशयोः ज्ञातसम्बन्धनियमेन एकदेशेन सन्दिग्धस्य एकदेशान्तरस्य परिज्ञानमनुमानम्। (**तन्त्ररहस्ये** पृ. 10)। अत्र एकदेशस्य एकदेशान्तर इति च द्वाभ्यां शब्दाभ्यां क्वचिदाश्रितौ हेतुसाध्यौ उच्येते। ताभ्यां एक आश्रयः आक्षिप्यते। अतश्च समानाश्रितयोरेव द्वयोर्गम्यगमकभाव इति फलति। सन्निकृष्टपदं स्मरणाभिमाननिरासपरम्। सम्बन्धपदेनात्र तादात्म्यवारणाय निरुपाधिकस्सम्बन्धो गृह्यते। एवञ्च निरुपाधिकसम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिति प्राभाकराः। निरुपाधिकत्वञ्च उपाधिशून्यत्वम्। उपाधिलक्षणन्तु साध्यव्यापकत्वे सति साधनाव्यापकत्वमिति नैयायिकाः। अस्योपाधिलक्षणस्य संग्राहकः कश्चन श्लोकः श्रूयते—

एकसाध्याविनाभावे मिथस्सम्बन्धशून्ययोः।
साध्याभावाविनाभावी स उपाधिर्यदत्ययः॥ इति॥

पद्यमिदं चित्सुखाचार्येण तत्वप्रदीपिकायां (पृ. 175) उद्धृतम्। कुमरिलभट्टस्येति केचन, उदयनाचार्यस्येत्यपरे। तच्च सर्वत्रादर्शनात् बृहट्टीकास्थं स्यादितीतरे। यदभावः साध्याभावाविनाभावी साध्येन व्याप्तः, साध्याभावव्याप्त्यभावप्रतियोगी - साध्यव्यापक इति भावः। मिथस्सम्बन्धशून्ययोरिल्लनेन साधनाव्यापकत्वमुक्तम्। ईदृशोपाधिविरहो भूयोदर्शनगम्य इति निरुपाधिकसम्बन्धो व्याप्तिरिति सिध्यति—

यः कश्चित् येन यस्येह सम्बन्धो निरुपाधिकः।
प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमासिद्धः स तस्य गमको मतः॥

(प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ. (71, 128)

प्रपूर्वोक्तपद्यस्थं दर्शनपदं निश्चयपरम्। तथा च समानाश्रितयोरेकदेशिनोः ज्ञातसम्बन्धनियमस्यैकदेशस्य दर्शनात् एकदेशान्तरे असन्निकृष्टे अर्थे बुद्धिरनुमानमिति लक्षणम्।

महानसादौ वह्निधूमौ सहचरितौ पश्यतः प्रथमदर्शन एव धूमस्य वह्निना सम्बन्धो गृहीतो भवति। भूयोदर्शनस्योपयोगः सोपाधिकत्वाशङ्कानिरासायैव। "अतः प्राथमिकम् प्रत्यक्षमेव धूमाग्न्योः सम्बन्धनियमे प्रमाणम्। भूयोदर्शनेन पश्चात्तस्य निरुपाधिकत्वनिश्चयः" इति (तन्त्ररहस्ये पृ. 10.)। एवञ्च गृहीतग्राहित्वमनुमानस्य प्राभाकरणां मते। अग्नेर्धूमेन सह सम्बन्धो धूमसामान्यानुबन्धी। अतः सम्बन्धसामान्यावसायसमय एव यावद्धूमाधिकरणं अग्निसम्बन्धस्यावगतत्वात् अनुमानस्य गृहीतग्राहित्वम्। तथापि प्रत्युत्पन्नकारणजन्यत्वेन धारावाहिकन्यायेन प्रामाण्यमनुमानस्येत्यनुभवात् प्रामाण्यमव्याहतम्। निरूपितञ्चैतत्—

"अहो अनुभवाविवेकिनो महान् प्रमादः, किं पूर्वदृष्टस्यानुभवो न भवति। अनुभूतिश्च नः प्रमाणम्। अन्या च स्मृतिरन्योऽनुभवः....सिद्धश्चानुमानादिषु प्रमाणत्वमनुभूतेः" (बृहती पृ. 102-103)। एवं "स्यादेतत् .... अनुभूतिस्तु प्रमाणमित्युक्तम्। धूमाच्च अग्निज्ञानं अनुभवाकारं जायते धारावाहिकवत्। .... इह तु सम्बन्धनियमस्मरणम्, एकदेशदर्शनञ्च अनुभवकारणमस्तीति यथाप्रतीति अनुभूतिरूपैवाश्रयितुं उचितेति युक्तमेवानुमानस्य प्रामाण्यम्" (प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ. 71)। एवञ्च नियतसम्बन्धैकदर्शनम्, सम्बन्धनियमस्मरणम्, अबाधितविषयत्वञ्चेत्यनुमानसामग्री प्राभाकराणामिति भवति।

प्राभाकरमतेऽपि केवलव्यतिरेक्यनुमानं न स्वीक्रियते। अवयवा अपि भाट्टानाम् इव त्रय एव-प्रतिज्ञाहेतूदाहरणानि, उदाहरणोपनयनिगमनानि वा। हेत्वाभासेषु असिद्ध - साधारण - असाधारण - बाधितविषयकाश्चेति चत्वार एव स्वीकृताः। प्रबलदुर्बलयोर्विरोधे दुर्बलस्य प्रबलापहृतविषयत्वेन दुर्बलं आत्मानमेव न लभते। तुल्यबलयोर्विरोध एव नोपपद्यते। उत्पत्तौ वस्तुनोः द्वित्वरूपापत्तिः बाधकस्तर्क इति सत्प्रतिपक्षस्य दूषणान्तरत्वं निरस्तं प्रकरणपञ्चिकायाम् (पृ. 87)।

उपमानम्

"उपमानमपि सादृश्यमसंनिकृष्टेऽर्थे बुद्धिमुत्पादयति, यथा गवयदर्शनं गोस्मरणस्य" इति शाबरं भाष्यम्। उपमानं पूर्वदृष्टेऽर्थे स्मर्यमाणे यत् दृश्यमानार्थसादृश्यज्ञानं सा उपमितिरिति वक्तव्यम्। एवञ्च दृश्यमानगवयनिरूपितसादृश्यप्रकारकगोविशेष्यकप्रमा उपमितिरिति फलितम्। तत्करणं गवयपिण्डदर्शनमुपमानम्। नागरिको हि पुरुषः नगरे दृष्टगुः कदाचिदरण्यं गतः, तत्र गवयं पश्यति। तदा तद्गतसादृश्यं प्रत्यक्षेण जानाति। पश्चात्समानसंवित्संवेद्यतया गवयसादृश्यं गोनिष्ठं स्मरति - एतद्गवयसदृशी मदीया गौरिति।

नैयायिकास्तु गोसदृशो गवय इति आरण्यकं पुरुषवाक्यं श्रुत्वा कदाचिदरण्यं गतस्तत्र गवयं पश्यन् तस्मिन् गोसादृश्यमवगच्छति। अनन्तरं आरण्यकवाक्यार्थं स्मरति। स एव व्यापारः। गवयगतगोसादृश्यज्ञानमुपमानमिति वदन्ति।

अस्योपमितिज्ञानस्य शब्दजन्यत्वेन शब्दानतिरेकात् पृथक्प्रमाणत्वं न सिध्यतीति मीमांसकाशयः। तस्मात् अनुभूतपूर्ववस्तुसदृशस्य वस्त्वन्तरस्य प्रत्यक्षे सति यदनुभूतपूर्वस्य वस्तुनः प्रत्यक्षीक्रियमाणवस्तुसदृशतया ज्ञानं जायते तदुपमानफलमिति वर्णयन्ति।

अस्य वैदिकोदाहरणन्तु अतिदेशवाक्यकल्पनम् प्रकृतिवद्विकृतिः कर्तव्येति। यत्राङ्गानि विशिष्योक्तानि तादृशेषु विकृतिकर्मसु अङ्गजातप्राप्तये विकृतिकर्मणां बोधकाले प्रकृतिकर्मणां उपदिष्टाङ्गानां नियमेनोपस्थितिरिति प्रतिपादयन्ति। अवगतसांगदर्शपूर्णमासादिरूपप्रकृतिपदार्थस्य विकृतिदर्शनेन तत्सदृशस्य प्रकृतियागस्य स्मरणम् - सौर्ययागसदृशैकदेवत्यत्वौषधद्रव्यकत्वादिना आग्नेय इति। तेन सौर्ययागेन ब्रह्मवर्चसं भावयेदाग्नेयवदिति। उक्तञ्च—

भिन्नानुमानादुपमेयतोक्ता सौर्यादिवाक्यैरसहापि दृष्टम्।
सादृश्यतोऽग्न्यादियुतं कथं नु प्रत्याययेदित्युपयुज्यते नः॥

इति **श्लोकवार्तिके** (पृ. 375)।

प्राभाकररीत्या तु - तत्र "**सादृश्यमितिहि सादृश्यम्**" इति **बृहत्याम्** (पृ. 107) "**सादृश्यदर्शनोत्थं ज्ञानं सादृश्यविषयमुपमानम्**" इति **प्रकरणपञ्चिकायाम्** (पृ. 110 & 128) "**सदृशदर्शनात् तत्सदृशवस्त्वन्तरगतसादृश्यज्ञानमुपमानम्**" इति **तन्त्ररहस्ये** (पृ. 12) च दृश्यते। एवञ्च पूर्वदृष्टगोः पुरुषस्य वने गवयं तत्सदृशं पश्यतो यत् गोगतगवयप्रतियोगिकसादृश्यज्ञानं "अनेन सदृशी मदीया गौरिति तदुपमानम्। प्राभाकरा हि अभ्युपगमसिद्धान्तन्यायेन प्रायः वैशेषिकतन्त्रसिद्धमेव प्रमेयजातम् अनभिमतपदार्थनिरासपूर्वकमभ्युपगच्छन्ति। अतश्च सादृश्यमङ्गीकृत्य तस्य द्रव्याद्यन्तर्भावं

न ते मन्यन्ते। सादृश्यं न द्रव्यम्, गुणकर्मयोरप्याश्रितत्वात्। गन्धादयो गुणाः, उत्क्षेपणादीनि कर्माणि च सदृशबोधविषया भवन्ति। अत एव गुणे गुणानङ्गीकारादिति न्यायेन सादृश्यं न गुणः, नापि कर्म। अनुगताकारप्रत्ययनिमित्तत्वाभावान्न सादृश्यं सामान्यम्। समवायस्तु सम्बन्धविशेषः। अतश्च न तत्र सादृश्यान्तर्भावः। विशेषस्तु प्राभाकररीत्या पृथक्त्वेऽन्तर्गतत्वात् न पदार्थः। ततश्च पदार्थान्तरं सादृश्यम्। तन्मूलकत्वमुपमानस्येति वदन्ति।

शाब्दं प्रमाणम्

"शास्त्रं शब्दविज्ञानात् असन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे विज्ञानम्" इति शाबरभाष्यम्। शास्त्रशब्देनात्र पङ्कजादिवत् योगरूढ्या धर्माधर्मप्रतिपादकानि—**"प्रवृत्तिर्वा निवृत्तिर्वा नित्येन कृतकेन वा। पुंसां येनोपदिश्येत तच्छास्त्रमभिधीयते"** इति प्रसिद्धानि—**"पुराणन्यायमीमांसाधर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः। वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश॥"** इत्युक्तानि चतुर्दश धर्मस्थानापरपर्यायाणि विद्यास्थानानि गृह्यन्ते। शब्दशब्देन चोदना अभिधीयते। अर्थशब्दः धर्माधर्मवाचकः। तथा च चोदनात्मके शब्दविज्ञानात् प्रमाणान्तरागम्यधर्माधर्मविषयकं ज्ञानं येन भवति तत् शास्त्रमिति। एवं पदश्रवणानन्तरं गृहीतपदपदार्थसङ्गतिकस्य पुंसः पदार्थस्मृतौ जातायां तैरेव पदार्थैः स्मृतैः अज्ञाताबाधितार्थविषयकं यत् विशिष्टवाक्यार्थज्ञानमुत्पद्यते सा शाब्दी प्रमा। तज्जनकशब्दः प्रमाणमिति वक्तव्यम्। पदज्ञानं करणम्, पदार्थस्मृतिरवान्तरव्यापारः। शाब्दबोधः फलम्। पदानि स्वस्वार्थं अवगमय्य निवृत्तव्यापाराणि भवन्ति। अवगतास्तु पदार्थाः परस्परसंसर्गरूपं वाक्यार्थं लक्षणया प्रतिपादयन्तीति वाक्यार्थे पदार्थानां लक्षणावादिनः मीमांसकाः। वाक्यार्थबोधे वैयाकरणानामिव धात्वर्थस्य न मुख्यविशेष्यत्वम्, न वा नैयायिकानामिव प्रथमान्तपदार्थस्य। किन्तु आख्यातार्थभूतायाः अर्थभावनायाः मुख्यविशेष्यत्वम्। एवञ्च देवदत्तः पचतीत्यत्र पाकानुकूलकृत्याश्रयो देवदत्त इति, देवदत्तः तण्डुलं पचति इत्यत्र तण्डुलकर्मकपाकानुकूलकृत्याश्रयो देवदत्त इति च नैयायिकानां मते बोधः। धात्वर्थमुख्यविशेष्यकवादिनां वैयाकरणानां मते देवदत्तनिष्ठः पाकः, देवदत्तनिष्ठतण्डुलकर्मकः पाक इति च बोधः।

तत्र कारकाणां क्रियया साकमेव अन्वयनियमात्, प्रथमार्थस्यापि अभिहितकारकस्य क्रियायाम् अन्वयस्यैव युक्तत्वात् तादृशनियमोल्लङ्घनं नैयायिकानां दोषः। सर्वत्र प्रत्ययार्थः प्रधानमिति यो नियमः तस्य धात्वनन्तरप्रत्ययार्थे परित्यागात् तादृशनियमोल्लङ्घनञ्च दोष इति मीमांसकाः आख्यातार्थमुख्यविशेष्यकं शाब्दबोधं स्वीकुर्वन्ति। एवञ्च पचति इत्यत्र पाकं करोतीति, पचत्योदनमित्यत्र पाकेन ओदनं करोतीति विवरणं भवति। ततश्च धात्वर्थस्य कर्मत्वेन करणत्वेन वा आख्यातार्थकृतौ अन्वयो युक्त इति देवदत्तः पचतीत्यत्र पाककरणिका देवदत्तकृतिरिति, पचति ओदनमित्यत्र पाककरणिका ओदनभाव्यका देवदत्तकृतिरिति बोधः स्वीक्रियते।

तदिदं शाब्दं प्रमाणं पौरुषेयम्, अपौरुषेयमिति द्विविधम्। लौकिकं पौरुषेयम्, वैदिकन्तु अपौरुषेयम्। उभयत्रापि अनाप्तप्रणीतत्वरूपस्य अप्रामाण्यकारणस्याभावे शब्दस्यादुष्टत्वात् शाब्दं स्वतः प्रमाणम्। शब्दप्रमाणमन्यथापि द्वेधा विभज्यते - सिद्धार्थबोधकम्, विधायकञ्चेति। नद्यास्तीरे पञ्च फलानि सन्ति, एष राजा द्राविड इत्यादि लोके सिद्धार्थबोधकम्। वेदे वज्रहस्तः पुरन्दर इत्यादि वाक्यम्। विधायकमपि औपदेशिकम्, आतिदेशिकञ्चेति द्विविधम्। इदमित्थं कर्तव्यमिति औपदेशिकम्। तद्वदिदं कर्तव्यमिति आतिदेशिकम्। देवदत्तः घृतसूपशाकादिभिः भोजयितव्य इति लौकिकोपदेशस्योदाहरणम्। अवघातप्रोक्षणाघाराज्यभागादिभिरङ्गैः उपकृताभ्यां दर्शपूर्णमासाभ्यां स्वर्गं सम्पादयेदिति वैदिकस्य औपदेशिकस्य उदाहरणम्। देवदत्तवत् यज्ञदत्तो भोजयितव्य इति लौकिकातिदेशिकस्योदाहरणम्। सौर्ययागेन ब्रह्मवर्चसं संपादयेत् आग्नेयवदुपकुल्य इति वैदिकातिदेशिकस्योदाहरणम्। अनयोरेव विस्तारः जैमिनिना द्वादशस्वध्यायेषु निरूपितः। तत्र पूर्वषट्कमुपदेशस्य, उत्तरषट्कम् अतिदेशपक्षस्य विवरणपरम्। सर्वोऽप्ययं विस्तरः चोदनालक्षणस्य धर्मस्यैव परिकरः।

चोदना च लोके वेदे वा लिङ्लोट्तव्यप्रत्ययानाम् अर्थः। स एव विधिः प्रेरणा चोदना नोदना प्रवर्तनेत्यभिधीयते। स तु लिङुच्चारयितुः इच्छाविशेषरूपः। वेदे तु वैदिकलिङुच्चारयितृपुरुषाभावेन, ईश्वरेच्छायां प्रमाणाभावाच्च लिङादिवृत्तिरेव कोऽपि व्यापारः यस्य शाब्दीभावना इति पारिभाषिकं नाम।

भाट्टास्तु अभिहितान्वयवादिन इत्यभिधीयन्ते। तत्तद्वाक्यस्थानि पदानि यदा स्वीयमर्थं उपस्थाप्य विरतानि भवन्ति तदा पदैरभिहिताः पदार्थाः आकाङ्क्षासंनिधियोग्यतारूपैः कारणैः परस्परान्वययुक्ताः वाक्यार्थबोधका भवन्तीति अभिहितान्वयवाद इत्युच्यते। अभिहितानां पदार्थानां मिथोऽन्वयो भवतीत्यर्थः।

अभिधा लक्षणा गौणी इति तिस्रः वृत्तयः भाट्टनये। शक्तिरित्यपराख्या अभिधा। "सामर्थ्यं सवभावानां शक्तिरित्यभिधीयते" इत्युक्तत्वात् शक्तिरियं शब्दगतत्वेन अर्थगतत्वेन च द्विविधा स्वीकृता। शब्दगता शक्तिः मन्त्राणां विनियोजिका। अर्थगता च शक्तिः स्रुवेण अवद्यति, स्वधितिना अवद्यति, हस्तेन अवद्यति इत्यादिषु स्रुवादीनां अर्थानां पृथक् विनियोजिका - यथा - स्रुवस्य आज्यादिवत् द्रव्यादाने, स्वधितेः मांसावदाने हस्तस्य पुरोडाशाद्यवदाने। लक्षणा तु "अभिधेयाविनाभूतप्रवृत्तिर्लक्षणेष्यते" इति तन्त्रवार्तिके (1 - 4 - 12) लक्षणलक्षिता। लक्षणावृत्तिरियं भाट्टनये वाक्येऽप्यङ्गीक्रियते। गामानयेति अत्र गोपदं आकृतिबोधकं व्यक्तिं लक्षयति। परन्तु व्रीहीन् प्रोक्षति इत्यादौ व्रीह्यादिपदं अपूर्वसाधनत्वलक्षणम् - अपूर्वसाधनत्वावच्छिन्नान् प्रोक्षेत् इति लाक्षणिकशाब्दबोधः। अत्र गोपदवत्। व्रीहिपदं न व्रीहिव्यक्तिं लक्षयति, तथा सति नीवारादिषु व्रीहिवैकृतद्रव्येषु प्रोक्षणासिद्धेः। यदि व्रीहिपदं व्यक्तिलक्षकं स्यात् तर्हि वैकृतद्रव्येषु यवेषु, व्रीहिसदृशेषु प्रतिनिधिद्रव्येषु प्रोक्षणाभावप्रसङ्गः स्यात्। अत अपूर्वसाधनत्वे व्रीहिपदस्य लक्षणा समाश्रीयते। एवं पदार्थद्वारा वाक्यार्थोपस्थितिर्लक्षणयेति वाक्येऽपि लक्षणां भाट्टाः स्वीकुर्वन्ति। "लक्ष्यमाणगुणैर्योगात् वृत्तेरिष्टा तु गौणता" इति प्रसिद्धिः। एवञ्च

अग्निर्माणवक इत्यत्र वह्नित्वलक्षितात् अर्थात् यत् शुद्धत्वम्, तेजस्त्वम्, पैङ्गल्यम्, इत्यादिः गम्यते तत्सादृश्यात् माणवके या बुद्धिर्जायते सा अग्नित्वबुद्धिः गौणवृत्त्या। एवं वेदवाक्यानां यजमानः प्रस्तरः आग्नेयो वै ब्राह्मणः यजमानो यूपः इत्यादीनां अर्थनिर्णयाय गौणी वृत्तिः तत्प्रयोजकानि च भाट्टैः स्वीकृतानि (जैमिनिसूत्रे 1 - 4 - 23)।

प्राभाकरमते - "**शब्दविज्ञानापेक्षादात्मनःसंनिकर्षात् यददृष्टार्थविषयंविज्ञानं तत् शास्त्रं (शब्दः) नाम प्रमाणम्**" **प्रकरणपञ्चिका** (पृ. 128), "**शास्त्रं शब्दविदा यदसंनिकृष्टविज्ञानम्**" **प्रकरणपञ्चिका** (पृ. 87), एवं **तन्त्ररहस्ये** (पृ. 22) अप्युक्तम्। एतेषां व्याख्यारीत्या भाष्योक्तं - शास्त्रं शब्दविज्ञानादसंन्निकृष्टेऽर्थे विज्ञानमिति लक्षणं न लौकिकवैदिकशब्दसाधारणम्। लौकिकानां आप्तवाक्यानां अनुमानप्रमाणेऽन्तर्भावात् न तत्साधारणमिदं लक्षणम्। परन्तु वैदिकानामेव वाक्यानां प्रमाणान्तरापरिच्छिन्नकार्यार्थावबोधकत्वात् तदसाधारणमेव लक्षणमिति सिध्यति (**बृहती** पृ. 105 - 6)।

एवञ्च प्राभाकराणां मते लौकिकवाक्यानां नैव प्रमाणशब्दत्वम्। प्रमाणशब्दस्तु वेदात्मक अपौरुषेय एव। पदानां खलु स्वाभाविकी अर्थबोधनानुकूला शक्तिरस्ति। न केवलमियं पदार्थमात्र-बोधनानुकूला, अपि तु इतरान्वितपदार्थबोधनानुकूला। तादृशान्वयस्यापि तादृशपदार्थविशेषण-तया शक्यत्वं पदवाच्यत्वञ्च अङ्गीकुर्वन्त एते प्राभाकराः अन्विताभिधानवादिन इति व्यवह्रियन्ते। विभक्त्यन्तस्य एकपदस्य अर्थेन अन्वितः अन्यः पदार्थः पदेन अनुभाव्यते, न तु विभक्त्यन्तपदार्थमात्रम्। एवं च अन्वितस्य अभिधानमित्यर्थः। लोके केवलेन पदार्थमात्रेण न कश्चित् व्यवहरति अपितु विशिष्टेनैव। अन्ततो गत्वा अस्ति भवतीत्यर्थेनैव वा व्यवहारः क्रियते। प्राथमिकशक्तिग्रहणवेलायामेव व्युत्पित्सुर्बालकः स्वप्रयोजनार्थं व्यवहरतोरुत्तमवृद्धमध्यमवृद्धयोर्वाक्यात् विशिष्ट एव अर्थे शक्तिं गृह्णाति। पदानां आवापोद्वापाभ्यां विपर्यासेऽपि प्रथमातिक्रमणे मानाभावात् अन्विताभिधानं युज्यत इति वदन्ति। (**प्रकरणपञ्चिका**-वाक्यार्थमातृकायाम्)। तत्र पदार्थांशे ज्ञाता सती शक्तिः कारणम्, अन्वयांशे स्वरूपसती शक्तिः कारणम्। अत एवैते कुब्जशक्तिवादिन इति कीर्त्यन्ते।

एवं वदतां प्राभाकराणामयमाशयस्स्यादिति वक्तव्यं भवति - वैदिकेषु पदेषु स्वभावसिद्धया अन्विताभिधानानुकूलशक्त्या बोधं जनयत्सु तस्मिंश्च बोधे स्वतः प्रामाण्यशालिनि वेदवाक्यानां स्वतस्सिद्धं प्रामाण्यं अप्रकम्प्यं भवति इति। लोके शब्दस्य विसंवाददर्शनात् वेदेऽपि तादृशानां शब्दानां विसंवादित्वशंकानिरासाय वेदप्रामाण्यपरिपालने भूयसा दत्तादराः प्राभाकराः लौकिकशब्दानां पृथक् प्रमाणत्वमेव न स्वीकुर्वन्ति। तेषामनुमानेनैव गतार्थत्वात्। विषयोऽयं नीतिपथे वाक्यार्थमातृकायां च **प्रकरणपञ्चिकायां** सिद्धान्तितः—

श्रूयतामवधानेन गतिर्नरगिरामपि ।
अनुमानात् पृथग्भावं तासां नेच्छन्ति सूरयः ॥

इत्यादिना ।

एतावन्निशम्य श्रोतारो निर्णयं कुर्युरिदमिति मन्ये यत् वेदशब्दो लौकिकाप्तशब्द इत्युभयप्रामाण्यं भाट्टेषु नैयायिकेषु च निरूपयत्सु, उभयस्याप्यनुमानरूपतया पृथक्प्रामाण्यविरहं वैशेषिकेषु च निरूपयत्सु एकस्य पृथक्प्रामाण्यं अपरस्यानुमानत्वञ्च वदन्तः प्राभाकराः तृतीयं पन्थानं अनुसरन्ति इति ।

तदिदं शाब्दं प्रमाणं उपदेशजम्, कार्यजञ्चेति द्विविधम् । जैमिनेर्द्वादशलक्षण्यां पूर्वषट्के उपदेशः, उत्तरषट्के अतिदेश इति भाट्टाः । परं प्राभाकरास्तु उपदेशस्य न केवलमातिदेशिकत्वम्, न वा औपदेशिकत्वम्, किन्तु विध्याक्षिप्तत्वात् उपदिष्टत्वम्, तद्वद्भावेन प्रापितत्वात् आतिदेशिकत्वमपि । अतश्च उभयलक्षणाक्रान्तत्वात् उभयरूपत्वं तस्येति वदन्तः पूर्वषट्के उपदेशप्रमेयम्, उत्तरषट्के कार्यप्रमेयमिति मन्यमानाः शास्त्रस्यास्य शाब्दनिरूपणपरत्वमुपपादयन्ति ।

शास्त्रे लिङादेः कार्ये शक्तिः, लोके च क्रियाकार्ये लक्षणेति तज्ज्ञानस्य प्रवृत्तिहेतुत्वं स्वीकृतम् । तच्च कृतिसाध्यत्वे सति कृतिनिरूपितोद्देश्यताशालित्वात् कार्यमित्युच्यते । प्रमाणान्तरागोचरत्वात् अपूर्वमित्यप्युच्यते । पुरुषं तत्तत्कर्मणि नियोजयत् नियोग इति व्यवह्रियते ।

प्राभाकरमत एवं शाब्दबोधप्रक्रिया-ज्योतिष्टोमेन स्वर्गकामो यजेत इत्यत्र 'यजेत' इत्यत्र लिङ्प्रत्ययेन कृतिसाध्यतया अपूर्वम् अभिधीयते । तत्र कृतेः तत्साध्यस्य कर्तृसंख्यायाश्च शब्दार्थत्वेऽपि यत्परः स शब्दार्थ इति न्यायेन प्राधान्येन अपूर्वस्य वाक्यार्थता । कृत्यभिधानन्तु कार्याभिधानेनैव लभ्यत इत्यनन्यलभ्यश्शब्दार्थ इति न्यायेन कार्यस्य प्राधान्येन प्रत्ययार्थत्वे कृतिसंख्ययोरुप-सर्जनत्वं एकेनैव अभिधाव्यापारेण अवगम्यते । व्यापारान्तराभ्युपगमे विरम्यव्यापारापत्तेः । अर्थद्वयस्य एकव्या-पारेण शब्दतात्पर्यविषयकत्वेऽपि गोत्वगोव्यक्त्योरिव प्रधानोपसर्जनभाव अविरुद्ध एव । शब्दस्य तथाविधसाम-र्थ्यावधारणात् । तेन लिङ्प्रत्ययस्य कार्याभिधायकत्वे अवधारिते यजिप्रकृतिः तदाकाङ्क्षितविषयं समर्पयति । तथा च यजेत इत्यनेन यागविषयककृतिसाध्यमिति बोधः पर्यवस्यति । पूर्णायां कृतिविषयाकाङ्क्षायां स्वर्गकामपदं कृत्याश्रयं नियोज्यमभिधत्ते । ज्योतिष्टोमेन इत्यत्र च प्रकृत्या यागपरिच्छेदाय तन्नाम अभिधीयते । तृतीयाविभक्तिश्च औपादानिकं यागकरणत्वं अनुवदति । एवञ्च स्वर्गकामनियोज्याश्रित-ज्योतिष्टोमनामकयागविषयककृतिसाध्यमपूर्वमिति शाब्दबोधरूपवाक्यार्थः पर्यवस्यति । वैयाकरणसम्मत-स्फोटवादं पराकृत्य क्रमवन्तो वर्णाः पदमिति शब्दस्वरूपम्, प्रत्याय्य-प्रत्यायकभावरूपं सम्बन्धं औत्पत्तिकं (नित्यम्), शक्तिग्रहोपायं वृद्धव्यवहारम्, वृत्तित्रयम्, अभिधापरपर्यायायाः शक्तेः पदार्थान्तरत्वञ्च स्वीकुर्वन्ति । एवञ्च-"शास्त्रं (शब्दः) शब्दविदा यदसन्निकृष्टार्थविज्ञानम्" (अमृतकला) इति सिद्धम् ।

अर्थापत्तिः

“ अर्थापत्तिरपि दृष्टः श्रुतो वा अर्थः अन्यथा नोपपद्यत इत्यर्थकल्पना ” इति **शाबरभाष्ये, “ प्रमाणषट्कविज्ञातो यत्रार्थो नान्यथा भवेत् । अदृष्टं कल्पयेद् अन्यं सार्थापत्तिरुदाहृता ” ॥ (श्लोकवार्तिके पृ.** 387) इति तल्लक्षणमुक्तम् । प्रत्यक्षादिप्रमाणपञ्चकेन प्रमित इति दृष्टशब्दार्थः । शब्दप्रमाणप्रमित इति श्रूतशब्दार्थः । श्रुत इति पृथगुपादानात् श्रुतातिरिक्तप्रमाणप्रमित इति दृष्टपदार्थः [1]गोबलीवर्दन्यायात् कल्पनीयः । अत एव दृष्टार्थापत्तिः, श्रुतार्थापत्तिश्चेति भिन्ना स्वीक्रियते । एवञ्च प्रमाणैः प्रमितस्य अर्थान्तरेण विना अनुपपत्तिमालोच्य तदुपपत्तये या अर्थान्तरकल्पना सा अर्थापत्तिरिति सम्पन्नम् । यथा प्रमाणान्तरेण देवदत्तस्य जीवने निश्चिते सति गृहे अनवस्थितस्य तस्य जीवतो बहिर्भाव-कल्पन विना जीवनं अनुपपन्नं भवति इति जीवनं बहिर्भावं कल्पयतीति सा अर्थापत्तिः । एवं देवदत्तनिष्ठं दिने भोजनराहित्यं पीनत्वञ्च प्रत्यक्षदृष्टं स्वोपपादकं रात्रिभोजनं कल्पयति । श्रुतार्थापत्तेरुदाहरणम्-विश्वजिता यजेत इत्यादौ स्वर्गकाम इति श्रुतैकदेशवाक्यत्वेन कल्पनम् । तत्र विधिप्रमिता विश्वजिद्याग-करणिका भावनाविषयकप्रवर्तना इष्टोद्देश्यकत्वं विना अनुपपद्यमाना स्वर्गाद्युद्देश्यकत्वं कल्पयति । अस्या अनुमानेनागतार्थता दृष्टार्थापत्तेः पञ्चविधत्वञ्च नात्र प्रतन्यते ।

प्राभाकरमते, **“विना कल्पनयार्थेन दृष्टेनानुपपन्नताम् । नयताऽदृष्टमर्थं या साऽर्थापत्तिस्तु कल्पना ॥ दृष्टेनार्थेन अदृष्टस्यार्थस्य अर्थान्तरकल्पनायां असत्याम् अनुपपत्तिमापादयता या अर्थान्तरकल्पना सा अर्थापत्तिरिति” (प्रकरणपञ्चिका पृ.** 113, 128) अर्थान्तरकल्पनायामसत्यां योऽर्थान्तरमनुपपन्नं कुरुते तत्रार्थापत्तिः प्रवर्तते **(तन्त्ररहस्ये पृ.** 12) इति च लक्षणमुक्तम् । एवञ्च अर्थान्तरकल्पनायामसत्यां योऽर्थान्तरं अनुपपन्नं कुरुते सार्थापत्तिः । “अनुपपत्तिश्च सन्देहरूप एव । **तत्सन्देहव्युदासाय कल्पना या प्रवर्तते । सन्देहापादकादर्थात् अर्थापत्तिरसौ स्मृता ॥” (प्र. प. पृ.** 128) । प्रमीयते अनेन इति करणव्युत्पत्तिस्वीकारे अर्थसन्देहापादकोऽर्थः प्रमा, कल्पितोऽर्थः प्रमेयम् । प्रमितिः प्रमाणमिति भावव्युत्पत्त्यभ्युपगमे कल्पना प्रमाणम्, तदनन्तरभावि देवदत्तो बहिर्भाववान् इति विशिष्टज्ञानं फलम् ।

अर्थापत्तेरनुमानेऽनन्तर्भावस्तु हेतुदोषादिति वर्णितम् । बहिर्भावसाधकानुमाने देवदत्तो बहिर्भाववान् गृहे असत्वाद् इत्यत्र गृहाधिकरणाभावप्रतियोगित्वं हेतुः । तस्य हि केवलस्य लिङ्गत्वं' जीवनविशिष्टस्य वा ? इति विकल्प्य केवलस्य गृहाभावतामात्रहेतोः मृते जनिष्यमाणेषु च व्यभिचारात्, जीवनविशिष्टस्य गृहाभावहेतोश्च बहिर्भावस्थानुमितिसितत्वेन निर्णीतत्वात् न किञ्चिदनुमेयमवशिष्यत इति

[1] यत्र प्रसिद्धि-अप्रसिद्धिनिबन्धनं प्राशस्त्यं वक्तव्यं अभिप्रेतं भवति तत्र गोबलीवर्दन्यायः । गोबलीवर्दशब्दे गोशब्देन बलीवर्दसिद्धौ बलीवर्दपदं दुर्दान्तत्वरूपप्राशस्त्यज्ञापनाय प्रयुक्तम् । एवं गोशब्दस्य स्त्रीव्यक्तौ प्रसिद्धत्वात् पुंव्यक्तावप्रसिद्धत्वात् बलीवर्दप्रयोगः ।

सिद्धसाधनदोषाच्च नानुमानेन गतार्थता। **गेहाभावस्तु यश्शुद्धो विद्यमानत्ववर्जितः। स भूतेष्वपि दृष्टत्वात् बहिर्वृत्तेर्न साधकः॥** (श्लोकवार्तिके पृ. 392) इति।

प्राभाकराः श्रुतार्थापत्तिं न स्वीकुर्वन्ति। तेषामयमाशयः। पीनो देवदत्तः दिवा न भुङ्क्ते इत्यत्र श्रुतौ दिवाभोजनाभावः रात्रिभोजनं विना पीनत्वस्यानुपपन्नत्वे सति अनुपपद्यमानोऽपि रात्रिभोजनमेव कल्पयति न शब्दम्। न हि शब्देन विना अर्थस्यानुपपत्तिः, किन्तु अर्थेनैवेति तत्कल्पनैव उचिता इति। यदि अर्थकल्पनाय प्रवृत्ता अर्थापत्तिः रात्रिभोजनरूपस्यार्थस्य सविकल्पकज्ञानवेद्यत्वेन शब्दपूर्वकत्वप्रतीतेः शब्द एवादौ उपतिष्ठत इति शब्द एव कल्पनीय इत्युच्यते तदैवं समादधते प्राभाकरा – सर्वत्र सविकल्पकज्ञानेषु शब्दो विशेषणतया भासते। वाचकतया शब्दोऽर्थमवच्छिनत्ति। तेन गौरिति प्रतीतौ गोशब्दवाच्योऽयमित्याकारकोऽर्थो गृह्यते। न ह्यत्र शब्दः शब्दवाच्यतां निर्वहति, तेन अर्थस्य अप्रतिपादक अस्मिन् विषये शब्दः। किन्तु वृद्धव्यवहारावगतया वाचकतया वाच्यं विशिनष्टि। तेन शब्दोऽर्थस्य अनुपस्थापकत्वात् प्रथमामपि अनुपपत्तिं न शमयितुं क्षम इति नार्थापत्तिप्रमेयतां गन्तुमर्हति। तेन अर्थविषया एव इयमिति श्रुतार्थापत्तेरनभ्युपगमः प्रपञ्चितश्चैतत् **प्रकरणपञ्चिकायाम्** (पृ. 117)। एवञ्च पीनो देवदत्तो दिवा न भुङ्क्ते इत्यत्र रात्रौ भुङ्क्ते इति शब्दः कल्पनीय इति भाट्टाः, रात्रिभोजनरूपः अर्थ एवेति प्राभाकरा वदन्ति।

अनुपलब्धिः—

भावाभावभेदेन भिद्यमाने पदार्थसामान्ये यो भावो येन इन्द्रियेण गृह्यते तदभावोऽपि तेनैव इन्द्रियेण गृह्यत इति प्रमाणचतुष्टयवादिनो नैयायिकाः तत्तदिन्द्रियैः तत्तदभावे गृह्यमाणे तत्तत्प्रतियोग्यनुपलम्भस्य सहकारिकारणतां स्वीकुर्वन्ति।

तत्र मीमांसकाः अर्थापत्तिपर्यन्तानि पञ्च प्रमाणानि भावमात्रगोचराणि न अभावग्रहणे व्याप्रियन्ते। न हि स अभाव इन्द्रियेण गृह्यते। इन्द्रियव्यापाराभावेऽपि तस्योत्पत्तेः। यो हि प्रातःकाले गृहे अवस्थितः मध्याह्ने पृच्छ्यते-किमस्मिन् गृहे प्रातः कश्चित् श्यामो रक्ताक्षः पीनो दृष्ट इति स तदानीमेव योग्यस्मरणानुदयात् तस्याभावं प्रातःकालिकं इन्द्रियव्यापारं विनैव अवधारयति। अतश्च न इन्द्रियकरणकं तत् ज्ञानम्। लिङ्गलिङ्गिनोस्सम्बन्धग्रहणाभावाच्च नानुमेयम्। सादृश्यज्ञानाभावाच्च नोपमानम्। अतोऽवश्यं प्रमाणान्तरभूतया अनुपलब्ध्यैव अभावस्तादृशः प्रत्येतव्य इति अनुपलब्धेः षष्ठं प्रमाणत्वं स्वीकर्तव्यम्। “**प्रमाणपञ्चकं यत्र वस्तुरूपे न दृश्यते। वस्तुसत्तावबोधार्थं तत्राभावप्रमाणता॥**” (**श्लो. वा. पृ.** 409) इति दृश्यते।

प्राभाकरास्तु “**अभावोऽपि प्रमाणाभाव**” इति भाष्यं प्रमाणलक्षणपरं न स्वीकुर्वन्ति। तेषां मते अनुपलब्धेरधिकरणात्मकत्वात्, अधिकरणस्य भूतलादेः इन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वेन भावातिरिक्तस्य अभावस्य प्रमेयस्यैवाभावात् तदर्थम् अनुपलब्धेः प्रमाणत्वेनाश्रयणं नोपपद्यत इति अभावनिराकरणपरमिदं भाष्यम्।

अयमत्र तेषां सिद्धान्तः- भाववस्तूनामवगतिर्द्विविधा। एका भावान्तरसंसृष्टविषया, अपरा तदेकविषया। द्वितीयापि द्विविधा-प्रतियोगिनि दृश्ये अदृश्ये च। तत्र दृश्ये प्रतियोगिनि या तदेकविषया बुद्धिस्सैव तदभाव इति विशेषतो व्यपदिश्यते - भूतले घटाभाव इति। अतो भूतले घटो नास्तीत्युक्ते घटे अदृश्ये भूतलमात्रस्य बोध इत्युक्तं भवति। प्रतियोगिनि दृश्यत्वञ्च अन्यत्र प्रमितस्य अन्यत्र प्रसक्तिः। अस्यास्वीकारे अप्रसक्तनिषेधः समापद्येत। सा च प्रसक्तिः प्राभाकरमते ज्ञानविशेष इति अभावप्रतीतिरुपपन्ना भवति।

प्रमाणान्तरवादिनां मते अनुपलब्धिलक्षणा प्रमाणानुत्पत्तिः किं सत्तया अवबोधिका? अथवा ज्ञाततया? इति विकल्प्य यदि ज्ञाततया तदा स्वापादने सर्वाभावप्रतीतिप्रसङ्गः। अतो विदितैव अनुपलब्धिः अभावप्रतीतिकारणमिति द्वितीयः पक्षः स्वीकर्तव्यो भवति। तथा सति अनुपलब्धेरभाव-रूपतया तद्ज्ञानमपि अनुपलब्धिप्रमाणगम्यमित्यनवस्था स्यादित्याद्याः युक्तयः **प्रकरणपञ्चिकायाम्** (पृ. 124) **प्राभाकरविजये** (पृ. 60) च वर्णिताः। ततश्च अनुपलब्धेः प्रमाणान्तरत्वाभाव इति प्राभाकरीयाः।

एवं मुरारेस्तु तृतीयः पन्था इति मीमांसासम्प्रदाये प्रसिद्धम्। कोऽयं तृतीयः पन्था इति विवेचनीयम्। त्रिपादीनीतिनयनम्, एकादशाध्यायाधिकरणमिति ग्रन्थद्वयमिदानीं लब्धमस्ति। परं विस्तृतमनुसन्धानमावश्यकम् एवं पुरुषार्थानुशासनमिति ग्रन्थः सायणीयऋग्वेदभाष्यभूमिकायां बहुवारं निर्दिष्टोऽस्ति। मीमांसामहार्णव इति कश्चन ग्रन्थः वत्सेश्वरकृतः जगदीशभट्टाचार्यकृतात् शब्दशक्तिप्रकाशिकाग्रन्थाज्ज्ञायते। परं न कुत्रापि लभ्यते। मीमांसाभाष्यव्याख्याद्यधिकरणेषु उदाह्रियमाणानां वाक्यानां मूलं किम्? तानि कुत्रत्यानीति विमर्श आवश्यकः। यदि शास्त्रपाण्डित्येन साकं एतादृशविमर्श-सरणिरपि स्वीक्रियते तर्हि मन्येऽहं नूनं मीमांसादर्शनस्य अस्माभिर्लघुसेवा कृता स्यादित्युक्त्वा विरमामि।

(SUMMARY IN ENGLISH)

There are two schools of Mīmāṁsā, viz. Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara. In this paper the means of knowledge accepted by Mīmāṁsakas are described, with a glimpse into the metaphysics of this Śāstra. The following are the main common features of the Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara schools.

1. The Vedas are eternal and are self-valid.
2. The Mantra, Arthavāda, Itihāsa and Purāṇa have validity only as supplements to the texts of injunction and are not self-valid.
3. The worlds such as heaven are eternal.
4. God does not exist. (There is no God).
5. The universe comprising the sentient and non-sentient beings is manifold.
6. The gods do not have forms and have dative case-ending only (*agnaye* etc.).
7. Dharma consists in the acts such as Agnihotra, Darśapūrṇamāsa etc.
8. Mokṣa is the soul remaining in its real form (i.e., being Satyakāma and Satyasaṅkalpa).

Experience is valid according to the followers of Prabhākara. But it is not accepted by those of the Bhāṭṭa school. The Prābhākaras accept five means of knowledge. But they are six in the Bhāṭṭa school. Direction, time and space are the objects of perceptive knowledge for the Bhāṭṭas. But according to the Prābhākaras they are known through inference. The Prābhākaras hold knowledge as self-luminous while it is not so for the Bhāṭṭas. Śakti is a separate entity for the Prābhākaras but Bhāṭṭas do not accept it as a separate entity. In the same way Bhāṭṭas and Prābhākaras differ in their views with regard to Arthāpatti, Anupalabdhi, Samavāya, Īśvara, Tamas, Khyāti etc.

The works belonging to the school of Prābhākara Mīmāṁsā are almost extinct. The causes for the decline of the Prābhākara view are—manifold criticisms by the followers of the Bhāṭṭa school and the Naiyāyikas, the recognition of the Bhāṭṭas and the censure of the Prābhākaras by the Vedāntins, the acceptance of the Bhāṭṭa view in practice, the vehement criticism of the Prābhākara view in treatises such as the *Śāstradīpikā* and *Nyāyaratnamālā* and the absence of learned scholars to espouse the Prābhākara view.

While the Nyāyaśāstra enquires into the means of knowledge and the Vaiśeṣika into the objects to be known, the Mīmāṁsā śāstra does not make such an examination of the means and the objects. But all the writers of philosophical schools resort to inquiry into the means in order to establish their own view and to repudiate other schools of philosophy. Just as a touch-stone is used to examine the purity of gold, valid means of knowledge is accepted by the inquirers as the means to know the real nature

of the objects. The Mīmāṁsakas, whose only aim is to inquire into the purport of the Vedas, also resort to the examination of the Pramāṇas. There are a few Mīmāṁsā texts that deal mainly with the Pramāṇas. The Sūtrakāra, Ācārya Jaimini, himself discusses in the first Adhyāya, the validity of perception, inference and verbal testimony. But the Bhāṣyakāra in the context of establishing the view-point of the Vṛttikāra in the first Pāda, speaks of six valid means and inquires into a few Prameyas such as the knowledge of the self etc. The same subject has been explained by Kumārila Bhaṭṭa in the *Ślokavārttika* and by its commentaries *Nyāyaratnākara*, *Tātparyadīpikā*, and the first Pāda of *Śāstradīpikā*. We get a description of this matter in two later works such as *Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi* and *Mānameyodaya*. Some portions of the works like *Prakaraṇapañcikā*, *Prābhākaravijaya* and *Tantrarahasya* are helpful for understanding the Prābhākarasiddhānta, its Pramāṇas and object of inquiry. Also the *Śāstradīpikā* wherein the Prābhākara views are indicated as *prima-facie* arguments to establish the Bhāṭṭa school of thought, is helpful in this respect.

The definition of 'perception' given by the Prābhākaras and Bhāṭṭas, the differences in their views regarding Savikalpaka, Nirvikalpaka, the invalidity of yogic perception and their definitions relating to Anumiti are discussed in this paper. The view of the Naiyāyikas about Sāmānyalakṣaṇa, Jñānalakṣaṇa and Yogaja has been criticised in that context. The difference in views regarding Hetvābhāsa has also been explained. The view of the Prābhākaras who hold that comparison rests on similarity is described and its validity as an independent source of knowledge is determined according to Bhāṭṭas and Prābhākaras. While establishing the verbal testimony, an inquiry into the nature of the Śāstra, the purport of the words and the nature of Abhidhā, Lakṣaṇā and Gauṇī has been made. The Anvitābhidhānavāda of the Prābhākaras and the Abhihitānvayavāda of the Bhāṭṭas are also dealt with in this paper. The exposition of the import of the Vedas from the point of view of Prābhākaras is distinct from that of the Naiyāyikas, Bhāṭṭas and the Vaiśeṣikas. Even with regard to Arthāpatti the views of the two schools differ. The validity of Anupalabdhi has been upheld by the Bhāṭṭas while it is criticised by the Prābhākaras.

The Concept of Dharma in the Mīmāṁsā Sūtras of Jaimini

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In a recent article on the 'Mīmāṁsā concept of Dharma', [1] N.S. Juhankar has ventured to discuss the Mīmāṁsā notion on the basis of the texts of Jaimini and Śabara only. In this effort he assumes that "Śabara has faithfully interpreted the aphorisms of Jaimini and his views",[2] in practice restricting his reflections to Śabara's comments on dharma particularly in the first pāda of the first adhyāya of the Sūtras. To introduce his analysis Juhankar sets forth four basic propositions adhered to by Mīmāṁsakas :[3]

1. Human beings desire happiness.
2. They take action to implement that desire.
3. As a result of this action they obtain happiness.
4. What is conducive to happiness is *dharma* and what is not so conducive is *adharma*.

Stating that "this straightforward doctrine creates certain difficulties when it is presented in the Vedic context,"[4] Juhankar proceeds to examine the doctrine entailed more closely, and arrives at a generally unfavorable opinion of the Mīmāṁsa enterprise, at least as a spirituality or way of life. This is indicated in his evaluation near the end of his essay :

> "The Mīmāṁsaka's justification for the Vedic authority and command structure may be satisfatory to those who have made an initial commitment to its presuppositions. Those who had the leisure to acquire Vedic knowledge and the privilege to enjoy its benefits had obviously no reason to complain. But such an approach may not inspire a sufficient number of even the privileged to embark upon a programme involving considerable loss and labour in the hope of deferred benefits. Even more important is the problem of preventing the unprivileged from emulating the privileged and thus from participating in the forbidden activities[5]."

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[1] N. S. Juhankar, "The Mīmāṁsā Concept of Dharma", *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. X, No. 1 (March 1982), pp. 51-60.

[2] Ibid., p. 60, n. 2.

[3] Ibid., p. 51.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Ibid., p. 57.

It is not the intention of this essay to offer a complete response to Juhankar's observations. Nevertheless, it is useful to introduce my interpretation of *Jaimini's* notion of dharma by stating that even if his judgment on the Mīmāṁsa project should be found valid in regard to Śabara's system, it cannot be said to apply to Jaimini's system, which differs from Śabara's on several critical points. In regard to this matter I will first make two reflections, one general and one more particular.

First, even if we may assume that Śabara does offer a " faithful interpretation " of the Sūtras, it is necessary today to put Mīmāmsā studies on a surer footing by seeking to understand how the Mīmāṁsā developed during the approximately five centuries between the Sūtras and Śabara's Bhāṣya on them.[1] For we must assume that each text reflects the needs and questions of its own time and that even in explaining the Śūtras carefully Śabara will do so in terms of issues pertinent to his day and age. It is my belief that with the help of Śabara, though without blind reliance on his interpretation, we can discern the contours of an earlier Mīmāmsā system in the Sūtras, an earlier system which contained positions and possibilities either not fully developed in, or actually diverged from, Śabara's restatement of the system.

Second, and in particular, a study of the system of the Sūtras will show an important divergence in regard to the propositions enunciated above. For while the first three of these propositions are at least implicitly acceptable to Jaimini as well as to Śabara, a study of the Sūtras shows that the fourth proposition that " dharma is what is conducive to happiness " is the position of the Bhāṣya—particularly in 1.1.2 and 6.1.1-3—and not that of the Sūtras. For both Jaimini and Śabara, the happiness the human person desires is the result of the sacrifice, and dharma lies in the correct performance of the sacrifice;[2] but it is only in Śabara that the further conclusion is drawn that the sacrifice is the means to happiness and that dharma is to be primarily described in this anthropocentric manner. For Jaimini dharma is rather more closely identified with the overall interrelatedness and coherence of the multiple elements of the sacrificial enterprise and event, and the human dharma has to do with the performer's correct place in this complex his or her satisfaction being a secondary concern.

In defending this different view of dharma in Jaimini's system, I propose now to examine his use of the word dharma throughout the Sūtras. First, however, several observations must be made about the nature of Jaimini's entire enterprise and the method of his investigation. Most importantly, the Sūtras, which have been recognized to be in

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[1] D. V. Garge, *Citations in Śabara-Bhāṣya* (Deccan College: Poona, 1952), dates Jaimini as early as 500 B.C., and Śabara between 200 and 500 A.D., pp. 17, 26.

[2] Without saying that it is one's duty (dharma) to perform sacrifice correctly. The notion of dharma as duty is not alien to the Mīmāṁsā, but the notion of obligation contained in the system presumes always the element of self-interest as well. Cf. p. 185 below.

continuity with the *paribhāṣā* sections of the Śrauta Sūtras,[1] offer the extreme development of the kind of "explanation by organization" found in those texts. Louis Renou aptly describes the Śrauta Sūtra style in contrast with that of the Brāhmaṇas :

> "We know that the Brāhmaṇas have for their goal not to describe the rituals, but rather to explain and justify the action and the formula, appealing to causality, sometimes internal and sometimes formal, and by making use of narrative illustrations. In doing this, the descriptive element is reduced, even to the point of disappearing entirely. In contrast, the solemn Sūtras leave aside all that has to do with narration and interpretation, in pushing the descriptive aspect to its utmost and last detail. They reorganize the ensemble at the same time, according to the equilibrium between archetype and ektype, between portions held in common and individual schemes, while in the Brāhmaṇas the same would be treated entirely linearly.[2]"

Jaimini introduces into his Sūtras a consistent vocabulary of relationship and hierarchy as the basis upon which to identify the intelligibility of any particular ritual element, be it a substance like rice, a chanted verse, a preparatory action or whole ritual, or even the performer of the sacrifice himself. Rites are related to one another as archetype (*prakṛti*) and ektype (*vikṛti*), and as much as possible the multiplicity of sacrifices is reduced to a process of reasoned modification (*vikāra*). Within individual rites, elements are related to one another in terms of importance, as the primary (*pradhāna*) or that which is subservient to it in some way: the secondary (*guṇa*), the accessory (*śeṣa*) and the subsidiary (*aṅga*). From another angle, the relationships among elements are evaluated and graded, as ranging from mere contiguity (*ānantarya*) to a sometime significant proximity (*saṁnidhi*) to a verbal authorized connection that must be respected (*saṁyoga*) to a permanent, purposeful relation (*saṁbandha*).

If the elements are so arranged in terms of origin, location and purpose, they are also marked according to time, since the sacrifice is primarily an event, an actual happening. These elements which are merely existent or available (*sat*) outside the sacrificial realm experience an origination (*utpatti*) in the ritual, become part of what is happening, under way (*pravṛtti*). In time they may be simply used up and discarded (in *pratipatti*) or be properly accomplished, completed (in *niṣpatti*). Their actuality terminates in a simple cessation (*nivṛtti*) or a fruitful consummation (*nirvṛtti*).[3]

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[1] So D. V. Garge, op. cit., pp. 52-55, and S. C. Chakrabarti, *The Paribhāṣās in the Śrauta Sūtras* (Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar : Calcutta, 1980), pp. 102-111.

[2] Louis Renou, "Sur le genre du Sūtra dans la litterature sanskrite", *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. CCLI (1963), pp. 165-216 ; p. 175. Translation from the French is my own.

[3] *Nirvṛtti* is usually *phala-nirvṛtti*, but need not be exclusively so connected. In general, the survey of Jaimini's vocabulary given in these paragraphs is meant only to be suggestive and would require nuancing in an extended analysis to be complete.

This pragmatic analysis and arrangement extends even to the Veda itself, and this is the real point behind the divisions of that text into mantras and injunctions, commendatory statements (*arthavādas*) and names, etc. The meaning of any individual statement is not important, but only how it can be construed to fit into a larger whole which itself has a purpose external to itself: the actual implementation of the Vedic rituals over and over again. Even if we may conjecture that in Jaimini's time the actual practice of the sacrifice was suffering a decline,[1] his system nevertheless presumes an overall integration of word and action as necessary for an understanding of each.

It is very important to note that man is likewise situated as a part of this system of related entities intelligible in terms of their place in the whole. In what Śabara and the later commentators agree is a case of Jaimini's going beyond the ideas of his predecessors, Jaimini makes an important extension of Bādari's list of what is accessory in the ritual context. Whereas Bādari has limited the accessory (*śeṣa*) to three elements, substance (*dravya*), property (*guṇa*) and preparation (*saṁskāra*) (3.1.3), Jaimini adds action (*karma*), result (*phala*) and the person himself (*puruṣa*) (3.1.4-6). The human person is necessary to the sacrifice, because without the performer nothing will happen. But rice is also important, and soma, and musical notation, and like these latter elements the performer is part of the whole and not its measure.

The limited nature of Jaimini's interest in the human person is testified to by his comfortable observation that humans seek what gives them pleasure (4.1.2) and presumably act only out of self-interest. Thus every sacrifice must have some attractive result (4.3.10-11) and duty is not appealed to as the reason for undertaking a sacrifice.[2] Thus, Jaimini rejects the notion that the priests would sacrifice merely for religious reasons. They must get paid, or they will do nothing (10.2.23). As long as the ritual is accomplished, possible interior qualities of the performer remain irrelevant.

This is supported too by Jaimini's diminished evaluation of the Vedic ṛṣis and schools (*śākhās*), in 1.1 and 2.4, respectively. The ṛṣis are merely the expounders of a text that is not the fruit of their meditation or insights, while the differences among the schools do not indicate various degrees of approach to the "truth", but merely extraneous differences in regard to the single sacrifice unvarying in its underlying connections of word

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[1] See, for instance, J. C. Heesterman, "Veda and Dharma", in *The Concept of Duty in South Asia*, ed. Wendy D. O'Flaherty (Vikas Publishing, 1978), pp. 80-95. Heesterman refers to "the strict ritualism that was left after the elimination of sacrifice proper" (p. 90).

[2] Jaimini recognizes the distinction of *nitya*, *naimittika* and *kāmya* rites, but all three pertain to the desirous person who is performer because he hopes for certain results. *Nitya karma* always obliges such a person, and offers him certain results; *naimittika karma* obliges him in certain situations, and also offers him certain results; *kāmya karma* obliges him only when he actually desires the specific results offered.

and action. So too, even if Jaimini does ultimately support the supremacy of the twice-born and the exclusion of Śūdras from the performance of rituals, this is a decision derived as narrowly as possible: to be a ritual performer requires certain knowledge and certain initiations, and the Veda assigns these to the twice-born (6.1.34-38). To those seeking to glorify the Brahmins, little support is given.[1]

It must be noted finally that Jaimini is equally insistent in limiting—almost to the point of irrelevance—any area of the supernatural or unseen. Madeleine Biardeau has rightly observed that of three possible " members " of the unseen world—gods, heaven, and *apūrva*—the first two are acknowledged simply as functions of the ritual whole.[2] Gods are necessary, to have someone to offer the sacrifice to; heaven is necessary, as the most generally appealing goal encouraging people to sacrifice. If *apūrva* grows in importance into a real transcendental entity even in the Bhāṣya, the concept does not appear in and has no relevance for Jaimini's Mīmāṁsā.[3] In general, the sacrifice includes the connections of word and action found in the authorless Veda, and incorporates any number of elements from ordinary experience, including the human person.

We are left, then, with an odd kind of system. The sacrifice is described as a set of spatial and temporal relationships eschewing any reliance on the supernatural, into which the ordinary grasping person of daily experience is simply fit as a useful component, along with many other elements. This can be viewed as an uninspiring, unattractive system, hardly transcendent or spiritual in any real sense. It cannot be truly termed selfish, since the human person is not placed at the center of it. Yet can any more be claimed about it?

Jaimini does claim significantly more for his system, and it is at this point that we can begin our consideration of his view of dharma. Throughout the Sūtras one of the most striking features of Jaimini's analysis and argumentation is his insistence on the importance and presence of *artha*—purpose, meaning, value. Human activity is the pursuit of the *puruṣa-artha,* and the inner coherence of the ritual as a working " organism" is termed the *kratu-artha* (4 1.1). His defence of the Veda and standard in its interpretation is that every *śabda* has an *artha*, both its innate meaning (1.1.5) and its effective power in the sacrifice, as *kriyā-artha* (1.1.25). Most generally, Jaimini claims that the ritual

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[1] Thus Garge notes that " Jaimini declares that Śūdras are not allowed to perform Vedic sacrifices (6.1.25-38), but he places it on the ground of there being no Vedic text authorising them to do so, and not on the ground of any inferiority." (op. cit., p. 52).

[2] Madeleine Biardeau, *Théorie de la Connaissance et Philosophie de la Parole* (Mouton and Co.: Paris, 1964), pp. 83-93.

[3] Thus also Wilhelm Halbfass, " Karma, *Apūrva*, and ' Natural ' Causes ", in *Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Tradition*, ed., Wendy D. O'Flaherty, (University of California: Berkeley, 1980), pp. 268-302. He notes that " there is no explicit reference to *apūrva* in Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsāsūtra*." (p. 274).

action itself is the primary value (*yajñakarma pradhānam*; 9.1.1) in terms of which every element is interconnected (9.1.19; also 3.1.7). While he is perhaps deliberately evasive, never quite telling us what the *artha* is, it is not an exaggeration to call this the content of his "faith": in *artha* is found the coalescence of the *puruṣa*, the *śabda*, the *kratu*, all as one converging structure.

Jaimini goes farther in this direction, claiming ultimately that this *artha* is dharma itself: *codanālakṣaṇo'rtho dharmaḥ* (1.1.2). The powerful Vedic word, meaningful and making meaning in the world of action, generates an entire ritual complex which, when understood, offers an understanding of dharma—thus we seek in the Mīmāmsā, in our scrutiny of the ritual: *dharmajijñāsā* (1.1.1).

It is the continuing concern of scholars to understand what dharma actually is, as Juhankar's article shows, and there is a great deal of speculation about the variety of meanings attached to this word. As indicated above, the concern of this essay is strictly limited to what Jaimini has to say about dharma, and in the remainder of the essay I will show what we can learn from the instances in which he actually uses the word itself.[1]

Among the approximately 70 uses of the word dharma in the text 60 or more of these instances suggest dharma to be that which characterizes some thing, word or text, person, or action in the ritual context. One's dharma is the way one is treated, acted upon, related to, during the sacrifice. Since Jaimini never defines this use of the word dharma, it is necessary to approach an understanding of it through an examination of examples in the text, relying often enough on Śabara to illustrate for us what exactly is the dharma in question.[2]

In regard to things, it is the dharma of rice, for instance, to be ground up at the ektypal sacrifice to Pūṣan (3.3.40). In the 9th adhyāya it is proposed, though rejected by the siddhāntin, that the dharma of the fire/fire-place—to be sprinkled, stirred, etc.,—should also be the dharma of every brick in the fire-place (9.1.26-27). When milk is introduced at the Jyotiṣṭoma in order that rice be boiled in it, it is deprived of the details that would attend to it if the milk itself were being offered: it is without its dharma (9.4.35). Contrariwise the milk used for boiling at the abhyudaya-iṣṭi is itself offered, and so has its proper treatment (its svadharma; 9.4.41). The dharma of the sacrificial post is its particular preparation (sprinkling, anointing, setting up, [etc), and this does not vary even if more than one animal is to be tied to it for sacrifice (11.3.6).[3] The following example helps us to understand the difference between a dharma and a property:

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[1] As noted below (p. 185), it is improper to reduce the many uses of a word like dharma to a single meaning. Nevertheless, a study of the actual uses of the word in Jaimini's text affords us the basis for a reasonable judgment about his usage.

[2] Notwithstanding my expressed view that the systems of Jaimini and Śabara are not identical, it is still reasonable to accept examples adduced by Śabara as correct.

[3] Cf. 8.1.42, 9.1.33, 10.3.35, 9.4.32, 10.5.63, 71, 12.2.26, 12.3.4.

Pūrvapakṣin: 8.1.35. The gold should have the dharma of the clarified butter, as both are of the nature of tejas (brilliant). 36. So too, many of the same details (dharma) can be accepted (as applying to both).

Siddhāntin: 37. No. It should have the dharma of the grain offering, because it too is solid.

At a certain sacrifice gold pieces are to be offered, but nothing is said about how they should be treated. It is possible to extend to them the details attending the gold-colored ghee or those attending the solid grain-offering. The siddhāntin judges that solidity is a more relevant similarity, so the gold pieces receive the treatment afforded to the grain-offering.

We see then that brilliant color and solidity are what we can call properties of gold; they pertain to it whether or not we are in a ritual context. The dharma of gold, on the other hand, is open to question, because in regard to this ritual the Veda has not stated explicitly what this dharma should be. The properties of gold are what identify it as appropriate to be introduced into this ritual; its dharma is what happens to it in the ritual context.

Texts and words also have dharmas. Nigadas are yajus verses which have the character of being recited aloud (2.1.41). Stomas and Dhurs (a kind of stoma) have the character of being repeated (10.5.11,24). The Sāmidhenī verses have the character of being treated like archetypal verses (10.5.29). When mantras are being learned by the student, part of their dharma is to be governed by rules as to the time at which they can be studied (12·3.18-19). A prohibitory statement can have the same dharma as a vow, the same ramifications (9.4.39).[1] Finally, it is a dharma of the Sāma Veda that it is sung aloud.

Persons and ritual performers have dharmas: eye color (1.3.23),[2] the life-long duty to repeat sacrifices (2.4.2,7), wearing the sacred thread (3.4.1) [3] or gold (3.4.20), being incapable of sacrificing (6.1.41),[4] payment for services (10.2.37), names descriptive of their tasks (10.6.56), forbidden kinds of behavior (10.8.13). While eye color and incapacity may approach what we would think of as a property, even here most of the human dharmas are strictly ritual and authorized by the Veda. These dharmas label the person and consist in the role he plays in the sacrificial event. An interesting text appears in the 6th adhyāya:

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[1] *Vratadharmācca lepavat*. In this obscure sūtra dharma can also be thought to approximate the meaning of *guṇa*.

[2] According to the example of eye-color given by Śabara, dharma here equals *guṇa*.

[3] 3.4.1. is a *pūrvapakṣa*, but here as elsewhere it is not the usage of dharma that is judged to be incorrect by the siddhāntin.

[4] Temporarily so, with the possibility of making up for the incapability.

> Pūrvapakṣin: 6.7.31. The thousand-year sacrifice must be taken as being for those whose life-span is of that extent (i.e., the gods)—since it is impossible for humans (to live that long). . . . Siddhāntin: 33. No. Because it is their sphere of activity, the sacrifice is meant to be performed by human beings (manuṣyadharma).

Because, as has been decided in 6.1.4-5, it is human beings who have the requisite desire that authorizes them to sacrifice—the gods have no incentive to get involved in the task—even this long sacrifice pertains to human beings. Because human beings desire results, it is subsequently their dharma (when other conditions are also met) to offer this sacrifice. When men and gods are correctly understood, this dharma may be properly assigned.

Finally, we see that actions and rituals have dharmas. The details pertaining to different rituals are their dharmas (2.3.23; 2.4.8; 3.7.51), and likewise the preparations performed on its necessary substances are the dharma of a sacrifice (4.3.8). Having the same fee as another sacrifice is a dharma borrowed from that rite (6.7.14). When rites are combined with one another, it may be found that their dharmas conflict, as when at the Dvādaśāha a decision about when the back-scratcher is thrown away will conflict with stated details as to when scratching is done with the hand or the stick (11.3.13; cf. 12.2.22). Ektypal rites have the same details, dharma, as do their archetype (5.1.19; 7.1.2,8).

Thus we see that in most places in Jaimini's text dharma indicates a functional description of some element of the sacrifice. To know the dharma of something is to know what it does, what is done to it, what it is related to, when it appears and disappears. For the most part too it does not overlap with the notion of a property, a *guṇa*. This latter is rather what is part of something in its ordinary, *laukika* existence, and such a property may or may not be relevant to the decision of whether the thing or person enters the ritual world at all. Thus, for example, the soma used at the Jyotiṣṭoma sacrifice is purchased at the price of a reddish, tawny-eyed, one-year-old calf (3.1.12), while we may presume that at other sacrifices the color of the eyes may not matter at all.

In contrast with property, dharma is a category of Vedic knowledge, something as described according to the word of the Veda. We may see many calves of the given description in ordinary life, but only the Veda reveals the dharma of the calf, that it can be sold in exchange for the needed Soma.[1] When disposed of, an element may or may not retain its properties intact—it may have been burnt, cut, etc. But the element's dharma may "cease" at its departure, unless, like the Brahmin priest, its Vedic description carries over from ritual to ritual.

If we step back from the particular ritual element and its dharma and view the whole of a ritual, we see that the entire set of relationships laboriously set forth and elaborated by Jaimini constitutes an interaction of the respective dharmas. The dharma

[1] I.e, the calf is assigned this value in the ritual context, and does not have it "in itself".

of the ektype includes its being like its archetype for the most part, while the archetype's dharma includes the process of derivation from it of various ektypes. The text directs that the yajamāna give the fee, and that the priest receive it, and both actions constitute aspects of their functional description, their dharma. It is not farfetched, I think, to state that when Jaimini occupies himself with endless ritual details and combinations and sequences and obscurities of text, he is precisely then, throughout the text, inquiring into the dharma stated to be the object of his inquiry.

But before reflecting further on the importance of this statement, as well as recognizing the hesitation we must retain in making it, it is well to examine one other set of passages from the Sūtras, the seven times that Jaimini uses the term *dharma-mātra*—"merely a dharma", "(for) dharma alone," Let us first list the examples:

1. Pūrvapakṣin: 2.1.9. When it is purely a matter of dharma (*dharmamātre*), all these actions should be considered (secondary), because of the non-accomplishment (of any result). As is the case with fore-sacrifices.[1]

   Siddhāntin: 10. No. The acts in question should have the same character (dharma) as the others, due to similarity in the texts.

2. Pūrvapakṣin: 6.1.10. . . . women are ineligible to sacrifice, because they are bought and sold, and can possess no property . . .

   Siddhāntin: 15. No. The "sale" is purely a matter of dharma (*dharmamātre*).

3. Pūrvapakṣin: 10.2.22. The gift to the priests should be regarded as purely an act of dharma (*dharmamātre*), because of the force of the root "to give".

   Siddhāntin: 23. No. It should be regarded as serving the purpose of hiring (their services), because of the mention of duties. As is the case among ordinary people.

4. Pūrvapakṣin: 10.2.37. The said prohibition could be explained as pertaining to the gift that is made to the Prasarpikas; as that is purely a matter of dharma (*dharmamātra*).

   Siddhāntin: 38. No. For the term "sacrificial fee" has been used, so the prohibition in question should be regarded merely as the statement of a fact.

5. Pūrvapakṣin: 10.2.39. The Udavasānīya should take in the details of the sattra, because it is a part of it. Hence the giving that occurs should be regarded as purely a matter of dharma (*dharmamātra*).

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[1] Such actions as lack (*phala-*)*nirvṛtti*, as do the *prayājas*, which are knowledge to be non-primary. In this interpretation I differ from Śabara who sees the pūrvapakṣin voicing the opinion that such actions are primary, I have elaborated my reasons for my interpretation in a paper presented at the Mīmāṁsā Conference held at the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Madras, on October 17-18, 1983.

Siddhāntin: 40. It is not so. For it is not part of that kind of sacrifice, and has been enjoined as distinct.[1]

6. 10.2.62. There should be performance of what are simply meritorious acts (*dharmamātra*).

7. 11.1.26. In ordinary life, the action is determined by some need. 27. Since the actions are subservient to that need, and the need is perceptible, the actions should be regarded as complete only on accomplishment of the purpose. 28. Contrariwise, when it is purely a matter of dharma (*dharmamātra*), and thus there is no visible result, the action will be completed by doing it exactly according to the text.

The first and last of these texts are most revealing of the nature of what is *dharmamātra.* In the first, we are asked to consider the nature of actions which do not fit exactly into the categories of primary (*pradhāna*) and secondary (*guṇa*). We have just been told, in the preceding two Sūtras, that primary actions are those which do not intend the preparation of some substance (2.1.7), while secondary actions do intend that preparation (2 1.8). But these *dharmamātra* actions do not effect any visible preparation, but instead consist of acts like circling an object with fire. Are they then primary? But we know from 4.4.34. that primary actions result in some fruit (*phala*), and here there is no (*phala-*)*nirvṛtti*. The siddhāntin decides that these actions are primary, but for us the relevant point is that the dhārmic action is "pure action", neither merely practical nor for a certain result. It is an action that relates, for example, the performer, the fire and the encircled object, without accomplishing anything else. It must be done "for its own sake"[2].

In 11.1.26-28 it is stated that no accomplishment of results is seen in regard to the *dharmamātra* action, and that therefore their completion is ascertained *śabda-arthena*, according to the meaningful Vedic text. This recalls of course the definition of dharma as that which is *codanālakṣaṇa artha* (1.1.2) dealing with what is not merely the existent and present that is visible to the senses (1.1.5). Such *dharmamātra* actions refer entirely to the relationship of *śabda*, *artha* and *karma* which precedes any human knower and his or her ordinary standards of accomplishment. Because no preparatory effect or result will appear, such actions must be carried out simply as effecting a relation required by the sacrificial whole. If we recall the position of Jaimini noted earlier, that even results are only accessory to the sacrifice, we can see that this notion of the pure action prompted by word leads us toward an understanding of the entire sacrificial enterprise as the act of dharma *par excellence.*

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[1] I.e., the Sautrāmaṇī, in which the yajamānas perform the sacrifice themselves without priests and yet apparently still pay the priests.

[2] Śabara calls the *dharmamātra* action *karmamātra*, pure action (*Bhāṣya* on 2.1.9).

In 6.1.10,15 Jaimini insists, against a pūrvapakṣin, that the ritual sale of the woman at the time of marriage indicates nothing essential about her; it is not indicative of her inferior status as chattel, but merely indicates a relationship that must be established between her and society, a pattern of actions relating her to her husband. It is an aspect of her dharma that she be sold, but this says nothing about her "essential nature", which still authorizes her to participate in sacrificing.

In the remaining cases[1] Jaimini rejects the notion that the giving of the gift to the priests is an act of dharma. In keeping with his view of the human performer as essentially self-interested, he understands the fee as that which motivates the priests in the first place. Because it serves such an obvious purpose it is like any other action of ordinary experience. Only if the giving were done for its own sake alone would it be that *dharmamātra* action.

We have seen in the previous pages, then, that in most of Jaimini's text dharma indicates either a sacrificial element's functional description as a part of the complex organization of the ritual, or a relating action which appears to achieve nothing but a certain connection among the elements. We are at this point far away from the notion of dharma as "what is conducive to happiness", because leading to certain results would be only one part of an element's description, and because an overall view of the dhārmic relations constituting the sacrifice includes the human performer and his perspective, but without making that perspective the privileged organizing significance of the sacrifice. When Jaimini defines dharma as the *codanālakṣaṇa-artha*, this includes the *puruṣa-artha* in all-encompassing *yajña-artha* that includes also the *kratu-artha* and is founded on the original, always prior relation of *śabda* and *artha*.

Now it is certainly true that we must be very careful in conflating various meanings of a word as rich as dharma, since several meanings may exist side by side, as it were, without overlapping originally. In his discussion of some of the meanings of the term dharma and explanation of the new weight given to the term in modern times, Wilhelm Halbfass has warned us, for instance, against identifying the meanings of dharma as "property" and the "larger religious order", and claims that such meanings are simply semantic alternatives.[2] It is not inevitable nor obvious that dharma as treated in 1.1.2 (and 1.3.1) must have the same meaning as it does in the rest of the text.[3]

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[1] Excepting 10.2.62, which stands alone as a kind of footnote. Śabara simply says that these actions, performed at the archetype, are also to be performed at the ektype.

[2] Wilhelm Halbfass, *Indien und Europa*, (Schwabe and Co.: Basel, 1981), p. 385.

[3] Differences in usage between the first adhyāya and the rest of the text are to be expected, given the overall difference in approach and style evident in the first adhyāya which, on the whole, is more abstract and "philosophical".

Nevertheless the hypothesis that there is continuity of meaning is exceedingly fruitful in helping us to understand how *all* of that Jaimini does in investigating the ritual is part of his inquiry into dharma and, as we have seen, is quite in keeping with his refusal to interpret the sacrifice primarily from a human point of view. To understand the dharma of the sacrifice is to understand the place and function of every element therein, even in all the ektypal variations. It is to understand as well the point and purpose of every Vedic statement within the larger unity of word and action. The Dharma to be discovered is not an unseen transcendent reality—Jaimini avoids such things—but is the wonderful web of the sacrifice as we hear it and see it and do it, again and again.

Yet it is also true that understanding Dharma through understanding the dharmas of every ritual element affords us with an insight into Jaimini's spirituality—how it is that his system escapes being merely a pragmatic, pluralistic realism which tolerates and does not seek to purify human selfishness. The true Mīmāṁsaka recognises both the human desire for happiness and commitment only to self-interested action, and the fact that once involved in the ritual that human person acquires the ritual, functional description of performer. His dharma is to be one of the accessories (*śeṣa*) of the sacrifice, and the more he masters the sacrifice in understanding its relationships, the more he understands himself to be part of a whole not focussed on him.

In this light too we can understand something of the true place of Jaimini in regard to orthodox Brahmanism and of the post-Jaimini development of Mīmāṁsā. I will make several suggestions in regard to these possibilities here, which I hope to explore more fully in another context. In regard to the former, the idea of dharma developed here as that proper arrangement of the sacrifice and its elements in which each element is made intelligible through a Vedic description of its function and relations fits in well with Halbfass' notion that the dharma was conceived to be neither the merely natural order of reality as it is, nor a transcendent "in itself" perfect reality. Rather, he says, dharma pertains to the Aryan society's maintainence of social and cosmic order and law through its sacrifices and traditional modes of behavior.[1] In Jaimini the order expressed in dharma is eternal, because the Veda is without beginning or author, but this dharma nevertheless remains an order based on positive verbal ordinance passed down in the tradition.

Madeleine Biardeau has stressed the lack of personal inferiority in the so-called individual of orthodox society, stating that the person becomes "identified with his social function and inserted into a web of obligations and socio-cosmic values which define him almost entirely"; all that is left of the individual is his desires and tenacity in pursuing their satisfaction[2] This desire, she notes, is what the sannyāsin repudiates in his renunciation. But Jaimini reflects this phenomenon completely. His puruṣa is introduced into

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[1] Halbfass. *Indien und Europa*, p. 365.

[2] Madeleine Biardeau, "Le Sacrifice dans L'Hindouisme", in *Le Sacrifice dans L'Inde Ancienne* by Biardeau and Charles Malamoud (Presses Universitaires de France; Paris, 1976), pp. 7-154; p. 63. Translation mine.

the ritual world and assigned a complex dharma which defines and describes his relevance completely. What is important about his " nature " and what allows him to be introduced as performer is only his desire to gain what pleases him (4.1.2). Jaimini does not allow for a renunciation of this desire—he knows full well that without it the intention to perform the sacrifice would likewise wither away—but simply displaces it and its possessor as well. Jaimini's quest to know dharma can be seen as an interesting alternative to the Upaniṣadic interiorization of the sacrifice.

This positioning of the Mīmāṁsā within the orthodox horizon through the Mīmāṁsā notion of dharma as set forth in this paper also suggests another startling resemblance, that of Mimāṁsā with Buddhism. In stressing the world of action and relation, setting up the dharma/dhamma as the goal to be obtained, and refusing to give systematic importance to a substantial, transcendent self, Buddhism and Mīmāṁsā come surprisingly close to one another. One of Stcherbatsky's descriptions of dharma could easily suit Jaimini's dharma as described in these pages : " There is a certain arrangement of elements, there is an element, or a force, or, still more precisely, the simple fact (dharma) that the elements are arranged in a certain way, according to certain laws." [1]

When we see that it is Śabara, not Jaimini, who defines dharma as what is conducive to happiness, we see a fateful choice in the Mīmaṁsā to provide the detailed analysis of the sacrifice with a separable anthropocentric spirituality that must be concerned with showing how the sacrifice serves human needs and is thus valuable, apart from the intrinsic order and rightness of its own order. There takes shape the " selfish " spirituality of Mīmāṁsā—I sacrifice in order to get heaven—that ultimately fails to satisfy even Mīmāṁsakas, and the end result is that even today it is impossible to call teachers of Mimāṁsā *believers* therein. Their religion is elsewhere.

Finally, by distinguishing between the systems of Jaimini and Śabara we are able to approach with greater discrimination the later development of Mīmāmsā. As the great *Ślokavārttika* and *Tantravārttika* show, Kumārila Bhaṭṭa expounds and defends Śabara's anthropocentric view of the sacrifice, providing it with necessary philosophical grounding. Although Prabhākara will not openly criticize the Bhāṣya, his stress on the notion of obligation and explanation of how the sacrifice " uses " its performer without becoming subordinate to him approximate more nearly Jaimini's viewpoint on these matters.[2] By appreciating the differences to be discovered in the earliest stages of Mīmāṁsā, we are in a better position to understand comprehensively the formation of the schools associated with the tradition.

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[1] Th. Stcherbatsky, *The Central Conception of Buddhism* (Motilal Banarsidass : New Delhi, 1979), p. 19.

[2] Particularly as elaborated in the work of Śālikanātha Miśra, in the *Ṛjuvimalā* on the *Bṛhatī* on 2.1.5, and in the *Vākyārthamātṛkā* of the *Prakaraṇapañcikā*.

Mīmāṁsā and Linguistic Problems

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Madras

Mīmāṁsā also called the *Vākya-śāstra* or the science dealing with the (interpretation of) sentences, was primarily concerned with the investigation and cogent interpretation of Vedic texts, mainly of a prescriptive nature, and had to deal with apparent absurdities, inconsistencies and self-contradictions, besides ambiguities. In the course of its attempts at the exegetical study of Vedic texts, it also evolved general principles of textual interpretation which are of universal application and which are accepted generally by all schools of thought and used freely in legal practice and commentorial literature. Mīmāṁsā used both analysis and synthesis in its approach to textual problems. Mīmāṁsakas gave a semantic definition of the sentence, evolving the concepts of mutual expectancy (*ākāṅkṣā*), consistency (*yogyatā*) and contiguity (*āsatti*) as factors necessary for the cohesion of a sentence. It was they who developed the theory of metaphor and figurative usage to explain away apparent absurdities.

Mīmāṁsā deals with the proper interpretation of Vedic passages giving rules about the various rituals and sacrifices. The Veda consists of metrical hymns (*mantras*) and prose passages (*Brāhmaṇas*). The *Brāhmaṇas* are again classified into two sections, (1) *Vidhi* (injunctions) and *niṣedha* (prohibition) and (2) *Arthavādas* which are again classified into three groups: (a) *guṇavādas* or statements which are contradicted by our experiences in the world and have to be explained figuratively to get a cogent meaning, e.g., *stenam manaḥ*, 'the mind is a thief'; (b) *anuvādas*, repetition of ideas already known, e.g., *agnir himasya bheṣajam*, 'fire is the antidote to snow'; and (c) *bhūtārthavādas* which deal with things which are unknown, but which may be taken to be true, e.g., statements like 'Indra killed Vṛtra'.

In Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsā sūtras*, the question is raised whether the *arthavāda* passages in the Veda can be considered as authoritative or not. The aim of the Vedic texts is to bring about some action and hence apparently only injunctions and prohibitions seem to be authoritative; and the *arthavāda* passages not directly related to any command as prohibition seem to be not authoritative.

आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानाम् ।

The final view of the Mīmāṁsākas is that *arthavādas* are also valid instruments of knowledge, (*pramāṇa*), since they are supplementary texts to be read along with the injunctions or prohibitions as a single unit (*ekavākya*). According to them, the Upaniṣadic passages which speak of Ātman and its identity with Brahman only serve the purpose of eulogizing the Ātman which is to enjoy the fruits of the religious acts.

A sentence or *vākya* is defined in the *Mīmāṁsā Sūtras* thus:

अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद् विभागे स्यात् ।

A group of words serving a single purpose forms a sentence if on analysis the separate words are found to have *ākāṅkṣā*, or mutual expectancy. This principle was enunciated in dealing with prose passages of the *Yajurveda*. Śabara in his *Bhāṣya* explained it as applying to the Vedic mantras also, taking *arthaikatva* of the Sūtra to mean 'serving a single purpose'.

एकप्रयोजनत्वादुपपन्नम् ।

Later, this principle was extended to the ordinary sentences also as mentioned by Bhartṛhari in *Vākyapadīya* II. 4.

साकाङ्क्षावयवं भेदे, परानाकाङ्क्षशब्दकम् ।
कर्मप्रधानं गुणवदेकार्थं वाक्यमिष्यते ।

The term *arthaikatva* was explained also as 'having a single idea'. Kumārilabhaṭṭa refers to this interpretation, but rejects it, following Śabara's interpretation. Later Someśvara bhaṭṭa, in his *Nyāyasudhā* takes the term in the sense of 'meaning' to admit a wider scope of the principle. Varadarāja's *Dīpikā* on the *Nayaviveka* points out that even according to the Prābhākara School, *artha* in the Sūtra means only 'purpose' and not 'meaning'. एवं च सूत्रस्थमर्थपदं प्रयोजनपरमेव, नाभिधेयपरमित्यर्थः ।
Bṛhatī gives: प्रयोजनवाच्योऽयमर्थशब्दः परिगृह्यते, न प्रतिपाद्यवाची । (p. 387).

The two elements *ākāṅkṣā* and *arthaikatva* given in the Sūtra seem to be similar to the two interpretations *Vyapekṣā* and *ekarthībhāva* given to the term *sāmarthya* referred to in Pāṇini's Śūtra समर्थः पदविधिः (2.1.1) to syntactic unity. *Ekārthībhāva* here is interpreted generally as unity of meaning. Patañjali explains *Vyapekṣā* and *ekārthībhāva* as mutually exclusive, and considers the latter as relevant to the compound words; Kaiyaṭa considers *ekārthībhāva* as the condition for a compound, and *vyapekṣā* for a sentence.

While the grammarians and the logicians explained *ākāṅkṣā* on the basis of the syntactic incompleteness of the sentence; the Mīmāṁsākas seem to have relied on the psychological incompleteness of the idea. Bhartṛhari actually criticizes the Mīmāṁsā definition of a sentence on the ground that its *ākāṅkṣā* would imply that a passage of several grammatical sentences would have to be considered as one sentence. Śālikanātha, the famous exponent of the Prābhākara School, says as a *pūrvapakṣa* that *ākāṅkṣā* being the curiosity on the part of the listeners could be explained on the basis of invariable association: thus an action implies an agent, a place, an instrument and so on and similarly an agent or an instrument naturally implies an

action to complete its sense. This view is criticized on the ground that there is no end to the curiosities aroused in the minds of listeners.

का पुनरियमाकाङ्क्षा। प्रतिपत्तुर्जिज्ञासा। किंनिबन्धना पुनरसौ। अविनाभावनिबन्धनेति केचित्। क्रिया हि कारकाविनाभाविनीति तां प्रतीत्य कारकं जिज्ञासते। एवं कारकमपि बुध्वा क्रियामिति। तदयुक्तमिति मन्यन्ते। जिज्ञासा तथा तदीयजनक - तत्क्रियातत्कारकान्तरादिजिज्ञासामप्यापद्यते।

Vākyārthamātṛkāvṛtti p. 5.

Vedāntaparibhāṣā discusses the problem and distinguishes between mutual *ākāṅkṣā* or *utthitākāṅkṣā* and one-sided *ākāṅkṣā* or *utthāpyākāṅkṣā* ; the former is natural and the latter potential. 'Bring the white cow'—Here 'Bring the cow' is complete in sense ; the colour of the cow is only a potential *ākāṅkṣā* as far as the cow is concerned, but the term 'white' has a direct *ākāṅkṣā* towards 'cow'.

The Mīmāṁsakas were concerned mainly with the interpretation of Vedic injunctions; but the two schools Bhāṭṭa and Prābhākara differ in their view as to what an injunction really means, and what the normal *ākāṅkṣās* are. According to the Bhāṭṭa school, the content of an injunction is the realization that the action enjoined is productive of some beneficial result. Kumārila says (*Śloka* V. p. 653)

प्रयोजनमनुद्दिश्य न मन्दोऽपि प्रवर्तते।

The *ākāṅkṣā* of a Vedic injunction according to the school is for the *itikartavyatā* (or the act enjoined) for the *sādhana* or *karaṇa* or the means and for the *sādhyā* or *phala* or fruit of the action. There is no special *ākāṅkṣā* for the *adhikārin* or the person who is to do it. Anyone who is interested in the fruit will do it.

According to the Prābhākara school, on the other hand, every Vedic injunction is to be considered as a command (*niyoga*), the person who is enjoined to do something has to do it, not because it will bring about some beneficial result, but simply because it is the command. The law is to be obeyed because it is the law, not because of the fear of punishment or the expectation of reward. The action may bring about some fruit, but there is no expectancy for it. A command is not a tempting offer.

The Mīmāṁsā discussions of foreign loan words indicates that the Mīmāṁsakas were aware of the existence of foreign loan words in Classical Sanskrit, and of the possibility of foreign loan words even in the Vedic texts. They were prepared to accept those words as foreign loan words, without trying to derive them from Sanskrit roots arbitrarily.

In the *Mīmāṁsā bhāṣya* Śabara says that in the case of loan words like *patrorṇa* 'a silk garment' and *vāravāṇa* 'armour' where the articles were imported from foreign

countries, we cannot know the meaning, if the foreigners do not point them out. In such cases, the Mleccha usage prevails But in cases where the same word is used by the Āryans and the Mlecchas in different meanings, both are to be taken as equally authoritative and contextual factors, or hints given in some other part of the text have to be taken into consideration to decide which is to be selected.

उभयथा पदार्थावगमाद् विकल्पः ।

Thus *yava*, *vetasa* and *varāha* are used in the sense of 'barley,' 'cane' and 'boar' respectively by the Āryans and in the sense of 'long pepper', 'black berry' and 'crow' respectively by the Mlecchas.

Discussing this Bhāṣya passage Kumārila Bhaṭṭa says that the latter set of meanings referred to as the Mleccha usage by Śabara are not found used anywhere, and that there is no sense in arguing about imaginary conditions.

नैवोच्यन्ते क्वचिद्देशे यवश्रुत्या प्रियङ्गवः ।
जम्बूं न वेतसं प्राहुर्वराहं वापि वायसम् ॥
अध्यारोप्य विचारेण किं मुधा खिद्यते मनः ।

This shows that the latter set of meanings had become obsolete by the time of Kumārila Bhaṭṭa. He did not consider the problem from the diachronic point of view; otherwise he must have known that the latter set of meanings had been lost in course of time.

In the Āryamlecchādhikaraṇa section of *Śabarabhāṣya*, the *prima facie pūrvapakṣa* view is given thus: Internal Sanskrit interpretation based on etymology and grammar is to be preferred to the Mleccha usage. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa explains this view thus:

येषां दर्शनमात्रेऽपि वेद एव न पठ्यते ।
संभाषापि च न म्लेच्छैः सहार्यावर्तवासिनाम् ॥
न चास्ति संस्कृतः शब्दः कश्चिन्म्लेच्छापभाषणे ।
संस्कृतप्रतिरूपापि तत्तद्भाषान्तरे स्थिता ॥

आर्याश्च म्लेच्छभाषाभ्यः कल्पयन्तः स्वकं पदम् ।
पदान्तराक्षरोपेतं कल्पयन्ति कदाचन ।
न्यूनाक्षरं कदाचिच्च प्रक्षिपन्त्यधिकाक्षरम् ॥

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa refers to the attempts of some overzealous Āryans to derive even pure Dravidian words from Sanskrit words like *vayar* from '*vairi*', *cor* from '*coraḥ*'

and *pāp* or *pamp* from '*pāpaḥ*'. He attacks such arbitrary attempts (*svacchandakalpanā*) and says:

काल्पनिक्याः प्रसिद्धेश्च या क्लृप्ता सा बलीयसी ।

It may be noted that the term *Mleccha* was used in the early period for *apabhāṣaṇa* or 'substandard speech' as in ब्राह्मणेन न म्लेच्छितवै । (quoted by Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya*). The *śiṣṭas* of Āryāvarta spoke the standard speech. Later even educated Brahmins spoke substandard speech in their ordinary day-to-day offairs, but retained the correct pronunciation in rituals. Patañjali refers to such scholars:

यर्वाणस्तर्वाणो नाम ऋषयो बभूवुः । ते तत्रभवन्तो यद्वानस्तद्वानः इति प्रयोक्तव्ये यर्वाणस्तर्वाण इति प्रयुञ्जते । याज्ञे पुनः कर्मणि नापभाषन्ते ।

The terms *babhūvuḥ*, *ṛṣayaḥ*, etc. show, as clearly pointed out by Nāgeśabhaṭṭa in the *Laghumañjūṣa*, that *yarvāṇastarvāṇaḥ* is used in the plural. It may refer to a single sage the plural being honorific; or it may be referring to many; but the suggestion of some scholars like Dr. Deshpande that it refers to two persons Yarvāṇa and Tarvāṇa is unwarranted.

There has been some misunderstanding regarding the Mīmāṁsā attitude towards language. The Mīmāṁsā insistence on the eternality of language might have originated in their concern for the preservation of the Veda and its authoritative character; but they were consistent in their approach and were never afraid of logical arguments even though leading to an unpalatable conclusion. Regarding the relationship between a word and its meaning, the general principle about its permanence औत्पत्तिकस्तु शब्दस्यार्थेन संबन्धः is on the basis of *pravāhanityatā*. They were not concerned with the ultimate origin of the relationship between a word and its meaning. To them it was impossible to conceive of a society without language; we learn our language from our parents and elders; they in their turn learned it from their forefathers; thus it could be traced back to any conceivable period of human society. न कदाचिदनीदृशं जगत् । (The world has always been as it is). What the Mīmāṁsakas meant by the eternality of the relation between a word and its meaning is that it is not possible to trace the origin of this relation to a person. This universal principle is not confined to the Vedic language or Sanskrit, but extends to all languages including the Mlecchabhāṣās.

Dr. M.M. Deshpande, in his recent book on *Sociolinguistic attitudes in India* says (p. 18) that this Mīmāṁsā conception of the eternality of *Śabdārthasaṁbandha* is not a universal principle but it applies only to Sanskrit. This view is unwarranted. The early Mīmāṁsakas have nowhere stated that it applies only to Sanskrit; it could equally well apply to the Mleccha languages, since the *pravāhanityatā* principle is equally valid there. It is only in the case of substandard speech or *apabhraṁśa*, where it is known that they are derived from Sanskrit, the change in form as well as meaning is taken into

account. The concept forms of words which have gained currency among the people, express their meaning, according to the Mīmāṁsakas, only indirectly by manifesting the potentiality of the original correct words through their similarity with them.

अनन्यगतिकत्वेन सा दृढस्मरणेन च ।
एकशक्त्यनुसारेण यावत् त्वस्ति गतिः क्वचित् ।
उपमानानुमानाभ्यां तावत् सैवानुगम्यते ॥

Tantravārttika on 1.3.26.

Even among the Naiyāyikas, who believe that शब्दार्थसंबन्ध was created by God, some have conceded that Mlecchabhāṣā is as important and ancient as Sanskrit itself. Annambhaṭṭa, in his *Uddyotana* commentary on Kaiyaṭa's *Pradīpa* says, "there is no reason to believe that only Sanskrit was created by God at the time of creation. When the Yavanas were created, their language was also created. We have no evidence to show that those Yavanas also first spoke Sanskrit and only later shifted to their own language". It is true that some people believed—believe even now—that Sanskrit is *anādi* and all other languages are derived from it. But this was not the accepted Śāstraic view held by the Mīmāṁsakas and Naiyāyikas.

The Mīmāṁsakas were very much interested in the componential analysis of the meanings of even individual words. They held that the finite verb is the central element in a sentence, since they were interested in injunctive sentences, other types of sentences like propositions had to be explained as connected with some injunctions (or prohibition), expressed or implied. The verb consists of two elements. The verbal root (*dhātu*) and the verbal suffix *(pratyaya)*. Of these two, the Mīmāṁsakas held that the verbal suffix is semantically more important than the root; this verbal suffix denotes *bhāvanā* or 'efficient force' which is defined as that activity which brings something into being:

भवितुर्भवनानुकूलो भावकव्यापारविशेषः ।

'the operation of the operator conducive to the production of the result'. This again is of two kinds: *śābdī bhāvanā* and *ārthī bhāvanā*. The injunctive sentence induces the hearer to do some action. This is denoted by the optative suffix *liṅ*; this is the *śābdī bhāvanā*; on this is based the *ārthī bhāvanā* which refers to the activity of the agent leading to the result. The *śābdī bhāvanā* has *ārthī bhāvanā* as its *itikartavyatā*. In the *Bhāvanāviveka* Maṇḍanamiśra defines *Bhāvanā* as the absence of inactivity in general.

औदासीन्यविच्छित्तिसामान्यरूपा ।

Studies on language are often based on statements. This is true especially in the case of logicians both in India and in the West. A corrective to this undue importance given to the sentences of the statement type is given by the Mīmāṁsakas who consider command, request etc. as more important functions of language. The aim of language

is to influence others, either producing action or the will to act. This is the main function of language according to the Mīmāṁsakas, who were concerned with the analysis of injunctive sentences. A command like 'get out' or 'come here' will produce in the hearer the sense that something is to be done, even if he does not know the meaning of the sentence. This is analogous to the *Śābdī bhāvanā*; after understanding the meaning as to what should be done, how it is to be done, etc., comes under *ārthī bhāvanā*. Even statements in the indicative mood have to be explained in terms of the action to be performed ultimately. This is clear in the case of advertisements, propaganda literature, etc., which often appear in a subtle form of innocuous statements. The discussions on the *arthavāda* texts by the Mīmāṁsakas shed considerable light on this aspect of language. A statement like 'The curry is tasty' implies 'give me some more'; and 'I love you' implies a request for reciprocation of love.

Regarding the nature of cognition produced by a word the Prābhākaras say that it is only a sort of recollection or *smaraṇa* or 'conditioned reflex'. A word can indicate its meaning only by rousing the mental impressions of earlier contexts. Even Cidānanda, author of *Nītitattvāvirbhāva* and Vācaspatimiśra favour this view:

शब्दोऽपि संस्कारोद्बोधनद्वारेणैव पदार्थं बोधयतीति स्मरणमेव पदार्थज्ञानमिति चिदानन्दप्रभृतयः ।

says Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. Vācaspati says in *Tattvabindu*—

वाच्यवाचकत्वं च प्रत्याय्यप्रत्यायकत्वं, तच्च विचार्यमाणं स्मार्यस्मारकभावमेव ।

But Pārthasārathimiśra is not in favour of this view. He says in the *Nyāyaratnamālā*:

शब्दानन्तरमर्थप्रत्ययदर्शनात् तस्यैव तत्र कारणत्वं कर्तुं युक्तम्, न तु शब्दात् संस्कारोद्बोधः ततश्चार्थप्रतीतिरिति युक्तं प्रणाल्यां प्रमाणाभावात् । तस्मादभिधायकमेव पदं न स्मारकम् ।

Regarding the *Abhihitānvayavāda* of Bhāṭṭa Mīmāṁsakas and the *Anvitābhidhānavāda*, of Prābhākaras; it appears that Mīmāṁsāsūtra **तद्भूतानां क्रियार्थेन समाम्नायः अर्थस्य तन्निमित्तत्वात्** is in favour of Prābhākara, while the *Śabarabhāṣya* passage favours the Bhāṭṭa view:

पदानि स्वं स्वमर्थमभिधाय निवृत्तव्यापाराणि । अथेदानीं पदार्थाः अवगताः सन्तः वाक्यार्थं गमयन्ति ।

According to the Bhāṭṭas, the words give their individual meanings and stop with that; the sentence meaning is got through *lakṣaṇā*; while according to Prābhākara words convey directly the word meanings and the syntactic connection. This is the **दीर्घदीर्घव्यापारवाद** mentioned by Abhinavagupta in the *Locana*. Tātparya works as a motivating factor, according to both Bhāṭṭas and Prābhākaras, but is not directly involved as a separate *Vyāpāra*.

The Concept of Mahāvākya According to the Vaiyākaraṇas

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The grammarians of Sanskrit Language of ancient India are specialists in all types of linguistic investigations. They analysed speech units and identified their components and explained their structures. According to them Śabda connotes Language in all its forms—the words, the sentences and groups of sentences—a discourse. This is evident from the examples cited in the Mahābhāṣya (M.B.) to give the types of Śabdas undertaken for analysis by the grammarian.

अथ शब्दानुशासनम्। केषां शब्दानां? लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च। लौकिकानां यथा गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्तीति। वैदिकाः खल्वपि—शं नो देवीरभिष्टये। इषे त्वोर्जेत्वा। अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम्। अग्न आयाहि वीतये ॥

M. B. Paspaśāhnika.

Though the Vaiyākaraṇas concerned themselves mainly with the analysis of sentences into words and words into the bases and the affixes and the phonemes, they examined bigger units of sentences and groups of sentences, discourses also. However, discourse analysis formed the main field of investigation by the Mīmāṁsakas. Still the grammarians too expressed their views on it generally following the principles laid down by the Mīmāṁsakas.

A sentence is defined as follows:

आख्यातं साव्ययकारकविशेषणं वाक्यम्। सक्रियाविशेषणञ्च। M. B.

A verb along with the nouns and their epithets is a sentence. It has been pointed out that the nominal words forming Kārakas and their epithets and the epithets of the verb itself are all epithets of the verb itself. So it is remarked that the definition can just be:

आख्यातं सविशेषणं वाक्यम् ॥ M. B.

A verb along with its epithets is a sentence. Then another definition is also given thus:

एकतिङ् वाक्यम् ॥ M. B.

A group of words with a Tiṅanta word is a sentence. This latter definition is taken as a Bahuvrīhi-compound and construed to mean "having one (main) Tiṅanta

word including clusters of words having more Tiṅanta words also". But in that context one of the Tiṅanta words becomes the main and others are subsidiary to it. In such a sentence we have one subject and one predicate only. This is clearly stated in the Uddyota thus :

एकोद्देश्यकैकविधेयकत्वगर्भमेकवाक्यलक्षणं बोध्यम् ॥

Bhartṛhari, therefore, defined Vākya as follows :

साकाङ्क्षावयवं भेदे परानाकाङ्क्षशब्दकम् ।
क्रियाप्रधानं गुणवदेकार्थं वाक्यमुच्यते ॥ Vā. II-4

The Mīmāṁsakas have also defined Vākya more or less on the same lines.

अर्थैकत्वादेकं वाक्यं साकाङ्क्षं चेद्विभागे स्यात् ॥

i.e., If we have more than one Uddeśya and more than one Vidheya, then we have different sentences.

उद्देश्यानेकत्वे विधेयानेकत्वे च वाक्यभेदः ।

The Sūtra of Pāṇini तिङ्ङतिङः is also sometimes interpreted to include expressions with more than one Tiṅanta word and one becoming the main and the other subsidiary to it as an epithet.

Bhartṛhari declares that a sentence is unitary and impartite—akhaṇḍa. The analysis thereof into words is technical and resorted to for the sake of analysis only. When it comes to the case of clusters of sentences, discourses, with unitary meaning, the analysis thereof into avāntaravākyas is similar to that of a sentence into its constituent words.

अविभक्तेऽपि वाक्यार्थे शक्तिभेदादपोद्धृते ।
वाक्यान्तरविभागेन यथोक्तं न विरुध्यते ।

Vākyapadīya. II. 88

The meanings of the intrasentences are like the meanings of the words in a sentence.

रूपं सर्वपदार्थानां वाक्यार्थोपनिबन्धनम् ।
सापेक्षा ये तु वाक्यार्थाः पदार्थैरेव ते समाः ॥

Vā. II-325

In such clusters of Vākyas, discourses or Mahāvākyas, there are several Tiṅanta words contained in each of the intrasentences. They are generally related with each other in different ways. In the case of Vaidikavākyas the relations and the modes of construing them are explained in the Mīmāṁsā.

Bhartṛhari (II - 390) refers to the views of construing the clusters of sentences in two ways. One recognises completion of each of the intra-sentences in themselves and the other, their construing as parts of the whole discourse only. These views are akin to the abhihitānvayavāda and the anvitābhidhānavāda in respect of the signification of words in a sentence.

वाक्यान्तराणां प्रत्येकं समाप्तिः कैश्चिदिष्यते ।
रूपान्तरेण युक्तानां वाक्यानां तेन संग्रहः ॥
न वाक्यस्याभिधेयानि भेदवाक्यानि कानिचित् ।
तस्मिंस्तूच्चरिते भेदांस्तथान्यान् प्रतिपद्यते ॥

In the metalanguage of the Vaiyākaraṇas we find the unity of sentences represented by the Sūtras individually. The entire Śāstra works form single units. This idea is fully expressed by Kumārila :

सर्वाण्येव हि शास्त्राणि स्वप्रदेशान्तरैस्सह ।
एकवाक्यतया युक्तमुपदेशं प्रतन्वते ॥
अन्य एवैकदेशेन शास्त्रस्यार्थः प्रतीयते ।
अन्यश्च परिपूर्णेन समस्तांगोपसंहृते ॥

Tantravārttika (Ta. Vā.) III - 4-4

A Śāstra taken in isolated parts may convey something. When it is taken as a whole unitarily, it gives a different (correct) purport. Kumārila says this kind of unitary interpretation of the entire Śāstra as Mahāvākya is necessary in Vyākaraṇa in particular. He says :

विशेषेण तु व्याकरणे । तत्र ह्येकैकस्मिन् पदे प्रायेणाष्टाध्यायी व्याप्रियते ॥

Ta. Vā. III. 4-4.

To establish the Sādhutva of each of the words in language the entire Aṣṭādhyāyī has got to be taken into consideration. Thus the unity of meaning is secured by interpreting the Sūtras, one, as the main and the other, as qualifying it or by the relation of the main and the subsdiary and so on.

एकवाक्यता च सति विशेषणविशेष्यभावे भवति । नान्यथा । सोऽपि सामानाधिकरण्येन वा भवति वैयधिकरण्येन वा । क्रियाकारकरूपः शेषशेषिरूपश्च ॥

The relations of the Sūtras are explained in different ways on similar lines to the relations explained in the Mīmāṁsāśāstra. They are :

उत्सर्गापवादन्यायः, शेषशेषिभावः । विधिनिषेधभावः ॥

and so on. By adopting these methods the conflict between the Sūtras should be avoided. The other Sūtras of Saṁjñā, Paribhāṣā etc., should be interpreted in occordance with them to give a single purport.

पराणि च संज्ञापरिभाषादिरूपेण लोपागम-वर्णविकारादिशास्त्राणि सर्वाण्येकं वाक्यम् ॥

This point is made clear by Patañjali under the Vārttika:

वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेर्वा ॥

Patañjali explains the Vārttika thus :

किमिदं वाक्यापरिसमाप्तेरिति ? वर्णानामुपदेशस्तावत् । उपदेशोत्तरकालेत्संज्ञा । इत्संज्ञोत्तरकाल 'आदिरन्त्येन सहेतेति' प्रत्याहारः । प्रत्याहारोत्तरकाला सवर्णसंज्ञा । सवर्णसंज्ञोत्तरकालं 'अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः' इति सवर्णग्रहणम् । एतेन सर्वेण समुदितेन वाक्येनान्यत्र सवर्णानां ग्रहणं भवति ॥

The grammarians have also discussed in detail as to how the Sūtras of different kinds namely: संज्ञा, परिभाषा, अधिकार, नियम, अतिदेश, are construed along with the relevant Vidhisūtras though they are not read out there in order. They hold different views in this respect. One school holds that the actual sūtras should be read in the proper places and interpreted, whereas the other view is that their meaning can be taken into consideration in the proper context. They are the famous यथोद्देशपक्ष, कार्यकालपक्षs.

This is just like the Mīmāṁsakas[1] taking the Arthavādas and others along with the Vidhis to give a unitary meaning.

आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमदर्थानाम् ॥

With regard to Arthavādas also it is said that they should be taken to form a single unit with the Vidhis.

विधिना त्वेकवाक्यत्वात् स्तुत्यर्थेन विधीनां स्युः ॥

Thus from the above it is clear that the Vaiyākaraṇas have also recognised the necessity of accepting bigger units of discourses and they tried to interpret them accordingly.

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[1] स्वार्थबोधे समाप्तानां अङ्गाङ्गित्वव्यपेक्षया ।
वाक्यानामेकवाक्यत्वं पुनः संहत्य जायते ॥ Ta. Vā.

Astrological Elements in Pāṇini

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It is a well known fact that ancient Indian literature, especially Saṁskṛt, whether religious or secular, had adopted an integral approach for the reason that the ancient sages never viewed any subject in a narrow specialistic way, but as part and parcel of the totality of knowledge. This is the speciality of even scientific literature like that of medicine, music, mathematics, warfare or astronomy-astrology. In this connection we are reminded of the romantic *modus operandi* adopted by Bhāskara II in his *Līlāvatī*, a book on dry mathematics. Like the *Mahābhārata* and the *Nāṭya-Śāstra* which declare that everything observed in the world outside could be found referred to in them, the works such as the *Bṛhad Jātaka* and *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of the illustrious astronomer of Ujjain viz. *Varāhamihira*, contain a marvellous array of subjects like astronomy, water-divination, gemmology, botany, erotics, geography, architecture, trade and commerce etc.

Having probed the secrets of the spirit, the ancient seers and saints realized that the external world was nothing but a projection of the spirit. They have declared that man's life on earth is but a link in a long chain of existences. Modern science tells us that the origin of life on earth is to be sought for in the great sun. In this connection we could refer with advantage to the statements of the sages and Varāhamihira that there are a number of *Ketus* or Comets which affect terrestrial and atmospheric happenings. For example, the *tāmasa kīlakas*, dark shafts, which are seen sometimes on the sun's disc (vide Bṛ. Sam. III-7) must have been observed by the ancients as having enormous effect on weather and human behaviour and health. These phenomena are nothing but sun-spots and solar flares of modern astronomers. Our physical health depends on the harmony existing between the body-radiation and the intensity of radiation received from the sun as well as the cosmos. A Russian biologist, Techijevsky, has found a remarkable coincidence between the incidence of cardio-vasculur disease and outbreaks of solar activity.

The same integral approach is observable in the Pāṇinīan system of grammar, which, though not very interesting by its very nature, spreads before our eyes the wonderful tapestry of myriad hues of social conditions, peculiar human behaviour, beliefs, foibles and excellences, ideas and ideals. In fact, we can say without any fear of contradiction that Pāṇini had studied human psychology minutely and delineated it in his aphorisms. For example, in VIII-4-48, while giving a rule of euphonic combination for doubling the consonant in the word *putra* followed by the word *ādinī* he has given expression to feminine psychology. For, a daughter-in-law whose children die soon after birth, becomes the butt of ridicule in society and object of the mother-in-law's foul tongue: "Thou wretch, thou eatest thy young ones (like a cat)". This is closely related to the fifth house of progeny. The *Phaladīpikā* (XII) describes the reasons and

planetary conditions for loss of children etc. Similarly in III-3-45 & 112 and VI-3-21 & 22 Pāṇini lays down rules for forming compounds like *devānāṁ priyaḥ, dāsyāḥ putraḥ, paśyato haraḥ* etc., that are used as satires or abusives.

Pāṇini had undertaken a stupendous task of collecting all the expressions, correct, incorrect and distorted ones, conveying various ideas, and putting the seal of authority on some and rejcting others and laying down rules for the correct expressions. Hence he could not leave even the scum of society such as gamblers, highway robbers, harlots, poachers, tale-bearers, hunters, liars etc. This is just to show that the grammarian was not a dry literary mechanic, but a lively, buoyant and robust man of the world. In fine, nothing would escape his observant, critical eyes. That is the reason why he has paid special attention to the science of astrology-astronomy. The speciality of this branch of studies consists in the fact that *jyotiṣa* or *nakṣatra-vidyā* being very ancient, is hallowed by being called the "*Eye of the Veda (knowledge)*". It needs no special evidence to show that the organ of vision is the most important part of the body. The science of *jyotiṣa* is also designated as *kālajñāna*—knowledge of time, as our entire life is ruled by time and space, the embodiment of time being the sun himself, who according to the *Sūryasiddhānta*, is the embodiment of the three Vedas. Though time is eternal, yet it is conditioned by the movements of the planets. In ancient times, time or seasons were reckoned by means of daily and periodic sacrifices. This is attested to by Śrīpati who says that the Vedas were revealed to man for the purpose of the performance of sacrifices, the latter being dependent on time. Distinction of time is possible only through this science. Hence sacrifice forms an important part of astrology; and it is through sacrifices that the *grahas*, the divine planets, appointed by providence to indicate by their movements the fructification of the actions of beings or fluctuations in their fortune, are invoked and propitiated (vide Bṛ. Jā. I-I). Varāha calls here the Sun "sacrifice of sacrificers". Under I-4-84 of Pāṇini the illustration, *japam anu prāvarṣat*, aptly proves how our fore-fathers were able to control the weather gods through *japa*, *homa* etc. Apart from others the *day* is an important unit of time. How do we reckon the day? Is it from midnight to midnight or from one sunrise to the next? We get the answer to this question under the aphorism I-2-57, where it has been explained that by *today* we mean the period between the previous midnight and the coming midnight. This mode of reckoning was prevalent in the Vedic period, which travelled gradually to the West and was adopted there. We find in the Sun's *stotras* that Lord Nārāyaṇa as well as Lord Śiva reside in the centre of the solar disc. As far as astrology is concerned the two luminaries constitute its warp and woof. Pāṇini too mentions them together in VI-3-26.

Pāṇini explains the formation of the words meaning different units of time. Among the five constituents of the almanac *tithis* or lunar days that constitute the first limb, are mentioned by Pāṇini in IV-3-16. Therein we come across the words *trayodaśī*, *caturdaśī, pratipat, amāvāsyā,* and *paurṇamāsī*. Among them the most important land-marks are *amāvāsyā* and *paurṇamāsī*, the latter being a tell-tale word signifying culmination or plenitude of the month or the Moon. For, in ancient literatures the Moon

represented the month. We find this illustrated in English as well as in Dravidian languages. Both in Tamil and Kannaḍa *tiṅgaḷ* means the Moon and month. In a Kannada folk-song the Moon is addressed as "*tiṅgaḷa devare nammaṅgaḷake banni*" —Oh divine moon, do, come down to our courtyard. The word *tiṅgaḷa devaru* means god of the month. It can be presumed that in pre-historic times the month must have been reckoned from the first day of the dark fortnight. For, the people of the dim past had no other means of measuring the time except the Sun, Moon and the stars; and so concluded that the month was completed when the Moon was full. Thus the Moon became synonymous with the month, which too was named after the constellation tenanted by her on the last day. (Vide Pāṇini IV-2-21). Later on the month was reckoned from the first day after the new Moon in some parts of the country like the South. Consequently we have at present the two kinds of reckoning viz., from the first day after the new Moon and full Moon respectively.

Constellations: In astrology asterisms or *nakṣatras* play a very important role. Pāṇini too devotes several *sūtras* to them and names many of them such as *Rohiṇī, Āṣāḍhā, Kṛttikā, Tiṣya, Punarvasu* etc. He explains the derivation of the word *nakṣatra* (VI-3-75) as one that does not decay or fall down. This shows that the stars are permanent and stationary. (In *Unādi*, however, it is derived from the root *nakṣi+atran*). Dr. P.V. Vartak avers (vide "Astrological Magazine," May 1981. pp. 392-4) on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* that the star *Abhijit* (*Vega*) had slipped down in the sky. This phenomenon is calculated to have happened 13,000 years before Christ. This leads us to conjecture that for the purpose of counting of days, only 27 *nakṣatras* were accepted from that period, as *Abhijit* was no longer visible along the lunar path. Similarly we learn from the Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* that *Viśākhā* was the dynastic star of the Ikṣvākus. According to Pāṇini men born under certain constellations are named after them as *Śraviṣṭhaḥ, Phalgunaḥ, Prosṭhapādaḥ, Rohiṇaḥ, Ārdrakaḥ* and *Mūlakaḥ*, while women as *Citrā, Revatī, Rohiṇī* and *Phalgunī*.

Time: Pāṇini mentions all the six seasons or *ṛtus*: *vasanta, grīṣma, prāvṛṭ, śarad, hemanta,* and *śiśira*. If in the Vedic language the expressions *vāsantikā* and *haimantikā* are allowed under IV-3-20, in Sanskrit the correct forms are haimanam or *haimantam*, but *vāsantikā*, and *vārṣikā* are also allowed. In the sense of *śrāddha* the form *śāradika* is the right one. He mentions also most of the units of time such as *varṣa, saṁvatsara, ṛtu, pakṣa, māsa, ahorātra, dina, muhūrta, sandhyā* etc. So does he mention all the months, *Madhu, Mādhava* (*Caitra, Vaiśākha* etc.). It is well known that in astrology the seasons are assigned to different planets. These seasons belong in order to (i) Venus, (ii) Sun and Mars, (iii) the Moon, (iv) Mercury, (v) Jupiter, and (vi) Saturn. There are diurnal and nocturnal planets and signs of the zodiac. The Moon, Mars and Saturn are strong at night; the Sun during the day except at twilight; Jupiter in the forenoon; Venus in the afternoon; and Mercury both by day and night. The seven planets beginning with the Sun preside over a solstice, moment, day, season or *ṛtu*, month, fortnight and year respectively. Among the jovian years Pāṇini mentions *Idvatsara* and *Parivatsara*, which are dealt with in the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* VIII-24. In addition to *Kārttika, Mārgaśirṣa* etc. being names of lunar months, they are used to designate the

jovian years on the basis of the asterism in which Jupiter becomes visible after eclipse (*Br. Saṁ.* VIII-I-2). In the *Ṛgāyana* list (IV-3-73) the word *muhūrta* occurs. This word directly refers to electional astrology, where 30 *muhūrtas* are described, fifteen in the day-time and fifteen at night (vide *Vidyā-Mādhavīya* III-910).

In olden days lunar months were mostly used. Writers on *Dharma-Śāstra* prescribe and proscribe some months for the performance of certain rituals. For example, *Upanayana* cannot be performed in the southern solstice. Similarly *Āṣāḍha*, *Bhādrapada* and *Pauṣa* are considered as *vacant* (*śūnya*) months. This prohibition applies also to intercalary months. Under I-4-39 Pāṇini refers to predictive as well as horary astrology. For in the example *kṛṣṇāya rādhyati* it has been explained that sage Garga, being asked about Kṛṣṇa's future, reflects on that.

Agriculture: This subject receives much attention in the hands of Pāṇini and astrologers. The former enumerates a number of creepers and trees as well as cereals and other farm produce such as jasmine creepers that blossom in the spring, the rice varieties of the autumnal season, barley of *hemanta*, black gram of *āśvayuja* (*āśvayujakā māṣāḥ*), the *ṣaṣṭika* variety of rice that ripens in sinty days, wheat, *masūra*, *aṇu*, sesamum, green gram, *umā*, *bhaṅga* etc. In horary astrology *ṣaṣṭika śālyodana* etc. are mentioned as the food eaten by the *querent*. Destruction of corn is said to be the result of the Moon's disc being cut by Jupiter. In the jovian year of *Jyeṣṭha* all crops except *Kaṅgu* will come to grief (Vide Bṛ. Sam. VIII). To the constellation *Mṛgaśiras* are assigned flowers and fruits; to *Punarvasu* valuable grains; to *Puṣya* barley, wheat, rice and sugarcane; to *Pūrva Phalgunī* cotton. Pāṇini mentions agricultural implements like *Hala*, *Sīra*, *Abhri* etc. Closely connected with agriculture is the subject of weather or meteorology. Rain and drought are referred to by Pāṇini (III-2-43). The word *meghaṅkaraḥ* refers to the weather that produces clouds. In the *Uṇādi* section under the Sūtra, *bahula-* . . . a verse is quoted which means: At first blow the winds that dry up the leaves, next those that make the leaves fall, then those that enable leaves to sprout, and lastly the God of Rain sends down rain. The word *nabhasya* is significant because the month possesses clouds (IV-4-128). Varāhamihira treats of the subject of agricultural produce, rain and drought in detail in chapters XXI-XXIX & XL of the Samhitā.

Avocations: Pāṇini derives several words which explain to us the innumerable arts and crafts for which the people of those days were noted. Among them we can mention dancing, singing, artisan's job, ivory engraving etc. He mentions some musical instruments like *Dardurīka*, *Vaṅki*, *Kaṭamba*, etc. The word *śailālin* shows that there was a class of professional actors. Bricks were manufactured for the construction of sacrificial altars as well as houses. Hiraṇyagarbha speaks of many types of houses such as *Mandira* made of stone, *Vāstu* of baked bricks, *Sumanta* of raw bricks and so on (vide notes under LIII-39-41, Bṛ. Sam.,). Pāṇini speaks of various kinds of sandals made of *muñja* grass, leather etc., (vide expressions like *aupānahyo muñjah*). Similarly people were engaged in manufacturing vessels out of bell-metal. See in this context expressions like *Kāṁsyam* (*Kaṁsīya* means what is good for *Kaṁsa*, a drinking vessel and one made of that is *Kāṁsya*). So also is *Paraśavyam*, what is fit for an axe. From the above examples we

can easily conclude that during and before Pāṇini's time metal and wood industries were in great vogue. For, we come across expressions like potters, weavers, chariot-makers, smiths, hammer, hatchet, hoe, spade, wrestlers and painters (vide VIII-4-39, IV-4-50, IV-2-80). Turning to astrology we come across wrestlers being armed (Bṛ. Sam VI-41, IX-43), painters, mechanics, gem-dyers, songsters, perfumery experts etc., being mentioned (Bṛ. Sam. X-10, XVI-18). Varāha refers to slippers in connection with auguries (LXXXIX-12). Pāṇini states that the word *devatā* means a statuary who makes idols of gods; he mentions ivory worker, one who crushes sugarcane (*Ikṣu-kuṭṭaka*), Dyer or washerman (V-4-32), one that carries loads of bamboos or sugarcane (*Vaṁśabhārika* or *Aikṣubhārika*), labourers who work by the sweat of their brow (*Vrātīna*), a story-teller (*Kāthika*-IV-4-102), one who sells sweet-meats (*Āpūpika*-IV-4-51), one who sells aromatics or perfumes *Kisarika* (IV-4-53). In the days of Pāṇini artisans were making chariots to which eight bullocks were yoked (*aṣṭāgavam*-VI-3-46). In olden days kings used costly rugs in their courts (*Pāṇḍukambalī*-IV-211). This shows that those were the days when excellent craftsmanship was patronized by kings and the rich. As we see today in towns there were *Ākarṣikas*, men who went about with their whet-stones (IV-4-9). Pāṇini refers to a very interesting piece of art viz., corn was arranged artistically in the form of a cow (*dhānyagavaḥ*), a lion made of straw (*tṛṇasiṁhaḥ*), a horse made of flour (*Saktu-saindhavah*). There were male dancers in female dress who could express subtle moods by the clever movements of their brows, *bhrūkuṁśa*-(VI-3-61). Scare-crows (*cañcā*) were made to scare away birds and beasts from fields of corn (V-3-98). All these topics are found described in works on astrology. The *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* expatiates on the excellence of ivory for decorating seats and couches (LXXIX-19). Abundance of sugarcane is the effect of the four jovian years from *Vibhava* (VIII-30). When Venus is associated with the Moon, the person born will be an adept in weaving, tailoring and dyeing of cloths (*Phaladīpikā* XVIII-2). Artisans, according to the Saṁhitā, belong to the constellation *Punarvasu* (XV-5). Heaps of straw are mentioned by the same author in connection with prognostication (LXXXIX-6).

Star Citrā presides over skilled artists, painters, weavers and ophthalmic physicians (Bṛ. Sam. XV-12). One who is born under the *Pārijāta Yoga* will always be in the midst of festivities, listening to stories of noble persons (vide Pha. Dīp. VI-55). Varāha refers to jaggery, sweetmeats and milk-porridge in connection with the worship of Indra's Banner, (Bṛ. Sam. XLIII-38). The *Kisarika* of Pāṇini is the *Yuktijña* (perfumer) of Varāha (Bṛ. Sam. XIX-12).

Trade and Commerce: Pāṇini speaks of *kraya* (buying), *vikraya* (selling). *krīta*, (bought), and *krayika* (buyer). He also refers to commodities like *kārpāsa* (cloth), *paiṣṭī-surā* (liquor made of flour), articles made of flax (*aumam*), wool (*aurṇakam*) and antelope skin (*aiṇeyam* or *aiṇam*). (Vide I-4-44, IV-4-13, IV-3-145 & 158). We come across also the subjects of Broker (*Pratibhū*), Tax (*avakraya*) and commodity (*Paṇasa*). Usurers or money-lenders (*Vārdhuṣika* or *Kusīdika*) and *Kisarika* perfume dealer (IV-4-53 & IV-4-31) are also met with. One who exhibits idols of gods (but does not deal in them) as a means of livelihood is called by the name of the particular deity such

as Vāsudevaḥ, Śivaḥ etc. (Pāṇini V-3-99). Corresponding to these topics Varāha states that when Saturn transits *Śatatārā* and *Pūrva Bhādra* physicians, toddy-distillers and traders will suffer (Bṛ. Sam, X-17). Trading work is to be done in *Vaṇik Karaṇa* for long-standing benefits (Bṛ. Sam. C-4). The Saṁhitā refers to the gain of woollen garments in connection with a query (LI-19). Prospects of the crop of hemp are to be deduced from the condition of the Iṅgudī tree, (*ibid.* XXIX-6). The *Jātakatattva* (Q. 22) informs that if Jupiter be in the 12th house, money will be spent on taxes. Varāha gives detailed descriptions of idols, their measurements, installation etc. in Bṛ. Sam. LXI.

Food and Delicacies: Pāṇini speaks of various types of tasty dishes and sweetmeats such as *saṁyāva* (III-3-23). He refers to excellent rice fit for the king's table: (*Rājabhojanāh śālayah*-VI-2-150); to fried grain mixed with jaggery *guḍadhānāh* (II-I-35); to a preparation made of curds *dādhikam* (IV-4-3); to one of buttermilk (*audaśvitkam*); to some other preparation of curds *āmikṣīyam* possibly *śrīkhaṇḍa*; to fried barley (*bhrāṣṭrā yavāh*-IV-2-16); to materials meant for *apūpa*, sweetmeats (*āpūpīyam*, V-I-4); to one who is very fond of *apūpa* or *pāyasa* (sweet-meats or milk-porridge) as *āpūpika* or *pāyasika*, (IV-4-61); to soup made of green gram (*maudgah sūpah*); to one who is daily fed with a preparation of meat and rice or rice alone (*māṁsaudanika* or *odanika*) and to such dishes as curd rice (*dadhyodana*) and sesamum-rice (*tilodana*). He also speaks of kitchen and frying pan (*mahānasa* and *ambarīṣa*) and to cooks. These are also extensively treated of by Varāha and other astrologers. In the *Phaladīpikā* of Mantreśvara (II-2) the Moon is said to preside over good food and sweet-meats. The Saṁhitā too mentions sweet food, *apūpu*, *pāyasa*, sweets, *śālyanna*, *guḍānna* and curds (Bṛ. Sam. XLV-7; XLIII-38; LXXXIX-I; XCV-20; LXXXVII-14).

Weights and Measures: Pāṇini enumerates a number of *parimāṇa* (measures) such as *nicāya*, (*taṇḍula-nicāya* is a measured heap of rice, III-3-20), *śūrpa*, *kāra*, *māṣa*, *droṇa*, *Prastha* (VII-3-27), *Khārī*, *bista*, *āḍhaka*, (V-I-53), *manonmānika* (II-1-60). So are the words *kuḍavam* (or *kuṭapah*—a measure), *mānikā* (a weight), *kiṣkuḥ* (a span or cubit), *Kāṇḍa Pūruṣa* and *kambalyam* (a weight equal to a hundred *palas* of wool). We learn from Vyākaraṇa that *yautava*, *druvaya* and *pāyya* are also different units of measure. Varāha while treating of swords lays down the rule that one ought not to measure it (Bṛ. Sam. L-6). He also refers to various dimensions for the houses of various classes and ranks of people (LIII). He describes the height and weight of the best class of men (LXVIII-105, 107). In this connection he opines that a man and a woman may note down their height and weight when they are in order 25 years and 20 years. He explains the quantities of rainfall in terms of *droṇa* and *āḍhaka*, the former being equal to 200 *palas* and the latter to 11 ounces. Elsewhere (Bṛ. Sam. LV-17) he prescribes certain manures or fertilizers in terms of *āḍhaka*, *prastha* (16 *palas*) and *tulā* (100 *palas*) for increasing the yield of flowers and fruits of trees.

Units of Money: Pāṇini mentions the following units of money or coins: ***niṣka***, a gold coin of one *pala*; *paṇa kārṣāpaṇam* (V-I-29), *kākiṇī*, *cūrṇih*-a hundred shells. Varāha states that the price of a diamond weighing 20 *taṇḍulas* (grains) is two

lakh *kārsāpaṇas,* which are gold coins, whereas *karṣas* are silver ones, (Bṛ. Sam. LXXX-13). Bhaṭṭotpala, the learned commentator of the Ācārya explains in the Saṁhitā that 80 silver coins make one *paṇa* and 20 *paṇas* one *kārṣāpaṇa.*

Learning: Pāṇini enumerates a large number of Śāstras and Vidyās or lores, which were in vogue in his days. *Upaniṣad, Nirukta, Vyākaraṇa, Aṅgavidyā* (horary astrology), *Vāstuvidyā* (architecture), *Āyurveda, Vāyasavidyā, Golakṣaṇa, Nyāya, Ṛgayana, Chandoviciti, Utpāta, Nimitta, Saṁvatsaravidyā* (astrology) and *Muhūrtavidyā* (Electional astrology), (Vide IV-3-73). The *Phaladīpikā* (XXVII-5) while discussing Yogas for asceticism lays down that if Jupiter be the concerned planet, the native would become well versed in *Vedānta* philosophy. Similarly, if the lord of the 10th house is posited in a *Navāṁśa* owned by Mercury, the person concerned will earn money by means of Vedic studies, astrology etc. The Saṁhitā elucidates that a man of the nature of ether (*ākāśa*) becomes expert in grammar. Mercury and Jupiter also preside over grammarians (LXVIII-III, XVI-18). The Saṁhiiā devotes separate chapters to architecture, signs of cows, portents, cries of crows, prosody etc. (Bṛ. Sam. LI, LIII, LXI, XLVI, XCV and CIV). Under II-3-41 of Pāṇini the given example makes out that among the cows the black ones yield most. The *Vivāhapaṭala* (CIII) deals elaborately with the effects of the elected ascendant in relation to the planets at the time. Varāha too gives a long list of branches of learning in the Saṁhitā (XIX-11, 12) including the art of magic, mines, warfare, cattle-rearing, Yoga, logic, mathematics, music, painting, iconography etc. On omens or auguries there are as many as eleven chapters in the Saṁhitā (LXXXVI etc).

Sports: Pāṇini has not neglected sport which forms an integral part of man's social life. It is true that some games are not approved of by the wise. We have already noticed the word *mallagrāma-* a colony or group of wrestlers. Pāṇini states that there are two different types of games prevalent in the eastern and northern regions: *uddālakapuṣpabhañjikā* (II-2-17) is the eastern sport, while *jīvaputrapracāyikā* is of the northern country. An expert gambler is called *akṣa-śauṇḍa* (II-I-40). It is well known that when gamblers lose heavily, they start quarrelling. This is referred to by Pāṇini in the example *ākṣadyūtikam vairam-* enmity due to gambling (IV-4-19). In the list of words headed by *akṣadyūta* we find such words as *jānuprahṛta, jaṅghāprahṛta* etc. We can presume that they are some kinds of manly games wherein the participants run on one leg and strike each other with their knees or shanks, as the case may be. The Saṁhitā alludes to the ruination of gamblers during the transit of Venus through the constellation *śatabhiṣaj* (IX-34). In the chapter on *Aṅgavidyā* Varāha is of opinion that an astrologer should not do his astrological work in a place occupied by gamblers, barbers etc. (LI-5). In the *Bṛhad Jātaka* (XIV-3) the combination of Venus and Mars at a nativity is said to make the person a gambler, of immoral conduct etc. Similarly, the presence of Mercury in a sign owned by Mars would make one addicted to gambling, stealing etc.

Customs: Pāṇini refers to some strange customs of his days: The word *āgavīnah* (V-2-14) shows that there was the custom of a man serving the owner of cattle in return for the use of a milch cow during its milking season. According to the *Bṛhaj-jātaka* (X-3), if the *navāmśa* of the lord of the 10th house is owned by Venus, the native will live by tending cows and buffaloes. Another custom which is still prevalent in rural parts is to burn the earth so that after rainfall there would be a luxuriant growth of

grass-*dagdhajāni tṛṇāni*. So is the humorous expression *vṛddha-kumārī* (VI-2-95), meaning an aged spinster. This shows that in days of yore some girls used to remain unmarried till the end. Likewise, it may be surmised that pisciculture was practised in those days. For experts could distinguish the sex of fish as *matsyah*, male, and *rohit*, *matsī* female, (VI-4-149). In olden days barter system was in vogue in the sphere of trade. This is seen in the example *pañcāśvā*-a piece of land bought for five horses (IV-I-22). Varāha (Bṛ. Jā X-2) assigns to the Sun, lord of the *amśa* occupied by the lord of 10th house, dealership in grass, gold, medicine etc. The Saṁhitā too refers (V-41) to destruction of fishes as a result of an eclipse occurring in sign Capricorn. Regarding aged spinster, the *Bṛhajjātaka* states (XXIV-8) that if Saturn occupies the 7th house aspected by a malefic planet, in a female chart, she will remain unmarried till the end.

Religion : For the effective practice of religion whose aim is to confer on man the four-fold end of human existence, the sages had assigned social duties to the people on the basis of their aptitude and efficiency, which put an end to unhealthy rivalry and hatred. This is the genesis of the four *varṇas* or classes and the four stages of life or *āśramas*. Pāṇini was no doubt an advocate of these institutions. (Vide II-3-4 & V-I 124). The Saṁhitā says that an earthquake taking place in any of the constellations, *Abhijit* etc. termed *Indra's Circle*, will ruin the four classes, (XXXII-18). The four stages of life are mentioned by Varāha (XIX-11, LIII-40, V-28 & XV-13). Pāṇini gives names of many persons engaged in religious activities such as *Brāhmaṇa-yājakah*, *Devapūjakah* (II-2-9), *Purohita*, *Yajamāna*, *Āhitāgni* (II-2-37) and those rituals that lead to Heaven, longevity and fame. He speaks also of *vrata*, *upavāsa*, *mahānavamī*, *sraddhā*, *medhā*, *srāddha* etc. In this connection we may remind ourselves of the time prescribed for the worship of Devī, which comes under II-3-45. The religious rule is to the effect that the Goddes of Learning should be installed on the day having the star Mūla and Her worship terminated with the star Śravaṇa. The *Jātakatattva* (E. 67) says that if the *aṁśa* of the lord of the 10th house is owned by Jupiter, the native will earn his livelihood by worshipping Deities, through brahmins, sacrifices, gifts, pilgrimages etc. Laying gardens, planting and rearing trees and sinking wells etc. were considered as very holy and meritorious. This comes under what is called *pūrtam* (cf. *Iṣṭāpūrte*). Pāṇini lists a number of trees in the *plakṣādi*-group (IV-3-164) as well as the banyan tree, Aśoka etc. He mentions also a number of fruits and flowers such as *āmalaka* (myrobalan), grapes, *kapittha*, *ciñcā*, *jambū*, *harītakī* and *kośātakī* as well as *jātī*, *mallikā* and other flowers. *Udyāna*, *taḍāga* etc. are named in the *ardharca* group (II-4-31). In the Anuśāsana Parvan of the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīṣma tells Yudhiṣṭhira about the glorious effects of making tanks, whose waters are used by men and cattle. One who plants trees enables his ancestors and successors to cross the ocean of *saṁsāra*.

Varāha gives the the planetary configurations for the growth of trees (Bṛ. Jā. III-6-8), for tanks to be filled with water (Bṛ. Sam. XIX-16) and the mode of constructing good and stable tanks whose banks are to be shaded by good trees like *kakubha*, mango, *aśoka*, *plakṣa* etc. (LIV-118-120). Varāha asserts that Gods take pleasure in residing in places having plenty of water and gardens (LVI-3, 8). Flowers will be destroyed when Saturn passes through the asterism *Puṣya* (X-6). *Kṛttikā* presides over white flowers, sacrifices and priests. Fruits are assigned to the Moon.

Remedial Measures: It is customary among the people to perform remedial rituals such as *Varuṇa Japa, Rudrābhiṣeka* etc., when they are tormented by drought. It is within the experience of many of us that rains pour down heavily within a few hours of the expiatory rites. We have already referred to the Sūtra (1-4-84) where the illustration means that there was rain as a result of the *japa* performed. Pāṇini too names *prāyaścitta* or atonement (VI-1-157). Propitiation of planets is advised by *Dharma Śāstras*, if at the time of birth the planets are ill placed or afflicted (Bṛ. Sam. XLIII-37). As a result of afflictions, combustion etc. of planets the native suffers from various diseases, which, according to Hārīta, are the outcome of the sins committed by the person in previous lives. Hence in addition to medical treatment *śāntis* ought to be done in the form of gifts, *japa, homa* and worship of gods (vide *Vīrasiṁhāvaloka* page 3). Childlessness results from the destruction of trees laden with fruits. This will be revealed by Jupiter's affliction or eclipse. Similarly, the cause of childlessness is the destruction of trees or creepers full of flowers, in case Venus be the concerned planet. Saturn in such a position points to the destruction of the Aśvattha tree (vide Pha. Dīp. XII-20-22). In days of yore the preceptor of Gods performed such an expiatory ritual for Indra when the latter was defeated by the demons. Bṛhaspati elected his own asterism *Tiṣya* for anointing Indra, as a result of which the latter was able to trounce his enemies and get back his heavenly kingdom. (Bṛ. Sam. XLIV-21). *Śāntis* are advised at the sighting of portents. The great savant of Ujjain, Varāhamihira, strongly recommends the worship of the Stellar Deity (Bṛ. Sam. CV) on the 8th lunar day of the dark fortnight of *Caitra* when the Moon transits the star *Mūla*, for prosperity and success in life.

Omens and Portents: Pāṇini says (V-I-38) that if the throbbing of the right eye (in the case of men) is the cause of the person's getting a hundred coins the expression should be *śatikam* or *śatyam*. *Utpāta*, portent, according to the *Kaumudī*, is an augury for good or evil effects. However, Sage Atri and Varāha opine that while omens are harbingers of both good and evil, portents are invariably evil. For, portents which are of three kinds, terrestrial, atmospheric and celestial, are warnings of impending troubles as a result of sins committed by men through wrongful actions. Anything unnatural in the behaviour of trees, animals and abnormalities of nature are termed *utpātas*. (Br. Sam. XLVI-2, 3). Hence it is the duty of the ruler to get expiatory rites performed. The *Mahābhāsya* quotes a verse under the Vārttika, *utpātena jñāpite ca*, which means—Tawny lightning augurs strong winds, deep red one excessive heat, yellowish one rains and white one famine. These unnatural phenomena, however, are not harmful in particular seasons.

Culture: Pāṇini speaks of some very good customs of people of high cultural standards: When guests arrive, the host welcomes them with proper words and deeds. Such a person is called *svāgatikaḥ* (VII-3-7); *sausnātikaḥ* and *saukhaśāyanikaḥ* are those who enquire whether their guests had a nice bath and sound sleep respectively. Similarly, when a guest is plied with tasty dishes, he says, I am fully satisfied. Such a person is called *paryāptikaḥ* (*paryāpta*-more than enough). Some persons receive honour and titles from the sovereign for their exceptional scholarship, noble and heroic deeds. They are called *rājapūjitas* (II-2-13). Even a barber that was eminent in his trade was called *rājanāpitaḥ* (VI-2-63). Pāṇini mentions a number of cultural centres of his time

viz. *Takṣaśilā, Ujjayinī, Mathurā, Gayā, Sāketa, Gāndhāra, Kāśmīra, Pāṭaliputra* etc. He also refers to our holy rivers, *Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Kāverī* etc., on whose inspiring banks our hoary sages built up our timeless culture, *Sanātana Dharma.* Corresponding to these, Varāha says that one gets royal patronage and honour, if Venus occupies his own house at one's nativity (Bṛ. Jā. XVIII-14 & Jā. Ta. N. 6, 15-17). About enjoyment of sleep on a soft couch see Jā. Ta. (F. 139, 141). Regarding bath in perfumed waters see Varāha (Bṛ. Sam. LXXVII-28). Hospitality to guests and feeding them is explained in the *Jātaka-tattva* (R. 97 & Q. 18 & 19). To be able to do this one should have Jupiter and Venus in the second house, whose lord should be in a *vaiśeṣikāmśa.* The same idea is given expression to by Mantreśvara while delineating the effects of Jupiter's interval in the major period of Mars (XXI-23).

Pāṇini is not blind to the existence of some black sheep in society. Accordingly, he mentions some immoral and wicked persons who are a blot to their family (e.g. *kulapāmsanaḥ*). This is referred to by Varāha in his *Jātaka* (XVIII-14). Another bad fellow is *pāradārikaḥ* - one who spoils another's bed (IV-4-1). The *Jātakatattva* refers to this crime in N. 60. Varāha, however, condemns it in very strong terms. For, he says (Bṛ. Sam. LXXIV-13) that one who goes astray in sexual matters will be absolved of the sin only by begging alms for six months wearing a donkey's hide. So is a *prākaṣika,* who lives on the earnings of another's wife. Pāṇini does not leave even those who have secret liaison with their slave girls- *dāsyā samyacchate kāmukah* (1-3-55). *Pāripanthika* is a highway robber (IV–4-36). The Saṁhitā tells us that robberies will be the order of the day during the *Kṣaya* year (VIII-52), see also Jā. Ta. (C. 105-111).

Perfumes: Pāṇini gives a long list of aromatic substances such as *rāsnā, kisara, narada, nalada, sthāgala, tagara, guggulu, uśīra, haridrā, haridru, parṇī* and *śalālu* (IV-4-53). In astrology perfumes or scents are assigned to Venus, 4th house and *Revatī.* The Saṁhitā says that merchants would make cent per cent profit, if they stored perfumes, sugarcane syrup etc. when the sun is in Cancer and sold them in the following month (XLII-5). Varāha devotes one whole chapter, LXXVII, to the delineation of *gandhayukti* or preparation of perfumes. In olden days men with grey hair were using scented hair-dyes as well as hair-oils and cosmetic powders, some of which had romantic names like *smaroddīpana,* kindler of passion, *bakula*-scent, *campaka*-scent etc.

Humour: Pāṇini has not neglected humour either which is called the sauce of life. For, in many places he introduces expressions like *odanapāṇinīyāh* (VI-2-69) meaning those students who learn Vyākaraṇa, not out of love, but for the sake of free food; *bhayabrāhmaṇah,* one who is frightened and timid and calls himself a Brahmin for the time being, which evoke laughter in the hearers. The latter expression is a joke at the expense of Brahmins, who generally do not resist evil. Similarly the word *mahābrāhmaṇa* is used in derision, but apparently in praise. *Vaiyākaraṇakhasūcih, pātresamitaḥ, geheśūrah* and *prajākāṇḍam* (VI-2-126) are jokes at the expense of an ignorant grammarian, one who does not do any work at home but is always present at dinner, a timid fellow who brags before women, at home and worthless progeny or subjects, respectively. Coming to astrology, a person takes interest in pleasantries and jokes in the major period of Mercury, or one whose ascendant or lunar sign happens to be Gemini and its lord, Mercury, is strong, well placed and well aspected.

The Syānandūraprabandha of Svāti Tiruṇāḷ

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Trivandrum

Svāti Tiruṇāḷ Mahārāja of Travancore (1813-1846), who is best known as an eminent composer of music, is also the author of several literary works of outstanding worth.[1] The *Bhaktimañjarī*, which is the longest and last, is an exposition of the nine-fold path of devotion, *Śravaṇa*, *Kīrtana* etc.[2] The *Padmanābhaśataka* is a hymn on Lord Padmanābha of Trivandrum.[3] The *Anyāpadeśaślokāvataraṇikā* is a set of short prose introductions to each of the verses in Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita's *Anyāpadeśaśataka* giving its purport.[4] But by far the most important literary work is the *Syānandūrapuravarṇanaprabandha*, usually referred to by the shortened form *Syānandūraprabandha*.[5]

Theme and its treatment

This *Prabandha* is in the form of a *campū* divided into ten *Stabakas*.[6] It deals with the legendary history of the Śrīpadmanābhasvāmi temple in Trivandrum, known in Purāṇic lore as Syānandūra, and the festivals therein.

According to tradition, the temple was consecrated by sage Divākara of Ānartapura in Gujarat. Lord Viṣṇu in the form of a little boy was playing his pranks on the sage with a view to testing his patience and devotion. The sage was for long delightfully tolerating them, although he could not know who the boy was. But once he got so much annoyed at the mischiefs at the time of his ritualistic worship, that he warded him off and spoke in rage. The boy immediately disappeared uttering a warning that thereafter

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[1] For an account of the life and works of Svāti Tiruṇāḷ, See Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer, 'A South Indian Maharaja', *Malabar Quarterly Review*, 1905 : V. Sankara Iyer and V. Venkatarama Sarma, 'Mahārāja Svāti Tirunaḷ's contribution to literature and art of Kerala', *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference* 9th session, Trivandrum, 1937 : S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Svāti Tirunaḷ and his Music*, Trivandrum, 1975 (Chapters 1-3).

[2] Edited by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1904.

[3] Edited (by S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer) in the *Journal of the Travancore University Oriental Manuscripts Library*, Trivandrum, Vol. I, 1945.

[4] Published in Malayalam characters together with the *Anyāpadeśaśataka* and its commentary in Malayalam by Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Tampuran, Trivandrum, 1902.

[5] Edited with the commentary *Sundarī* of Rājarāja Varma by T. Ganapati Sastri, Trivandrum, 1920; with Tamil Translation by V.S.V. Guruswami Sastri, Trivandrum, 1973.

[6] In Kerala, a Campū is generally called 'Prabandha'.

Divākara could see him only in Anantapura, the present-day Trivandrum. Realising the mistake and full of disappointment, the old devotee journeyed to the south and crossing numerous forests, rivers and villages, saw Him at last in the hollow of a tree in the forest Anantavana, whereupon the gigantic tree fell down and was transformed into the Lord resting on Ādiśeṣa, covering an extensive area with head in Matsyatīrtha, the hands in Śaṅkha and Cakra tīrthas and the feet in the Dharma and Adharma tīrthas. The Lord reduced his form at the request of the sage to the present size, thrice the length of his staff. Divākara constructed a temple around the image and made arrangements for daily ritualistic worship.

The first three *stabakas* narrate this story. In the first, named *Bālakrīḍā*, the appearance of the boy before the sage and his pranks with him are beautifully described. The sage, provoked by the boy swallowing one of his *Sālagrāmas*, warding him off with his left hand at which the boy takes offence and disappears, and the sage's subsequent wanderings and mental sufferings and final discovery of the Lord, are narrated in the second *stabaka* named *Pratyakṣadarśana*. The third, significantly named *Keśādipādastuti*, contains a description of the Lord from head to foot and of the deities associated with him like Lakṣmī, Bhūmi, Jaya, Vijaya and Garuḍa and sages like Nārada.

In the fourth *stabaka* we get an account of the other deities installed in the temple like Narasiṁha, Rāma, Viṣvaksena and Vyāsa, and also Kṛṣṇa, Śāstā and Kṣetrapāla who have separate temples outside the main *prākāra*. It is named *Kṣetravarṇana* and contains a string of verses in praise of Syānandūra as a holy place. The fifth describes the *tīrthas* in the place like *Padma*, which is the most important, and *Varāha*, *Matsya*, *Śaṅkha*, *Cakra*, *Dharma*, *Adharma* and *Pāda*, and of the different parts of the Padmanābhasvāmi temple like the Śrībalimaṇḍapa for the processions, the *Mukhamaṇḍapa* for Vedic recitations and the *Ekaśilāmaṇḍapa* (called '*Ottakkal maṇḍapa*' in the local language) in front of the *sanctum sanctorum*, the *Kulaśekharamaṇḍapa* with its attractive sculptures, the golden *Dhvajastambha* with Garuḍa at its top and the imposing *Gopura* with its broad central corridors and sculptures of numerous gods and goddesses and Purāṇic incidents. The *stabaka* is named *Tīrthādi māhātmya* but it also contains a general account of the main ten-day festival in the temple conducted twice a year and a graphic description of the elaborate decorations, sumptuous feeding and the large variety of entertainments associated with it. The sixth, *Utsavapraśaṁsā*, is devoted to the description of the procession, day by day during the first eight days, and the different *vāhanas* used namely *Siṁhāsana*, *Ananta*, *Kamala*, *Śibikā*, *Indra* and *Garuḍa*,[1] these *vāhanas* being of gold for Padmanābha and of

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[1] The *Kamalavāhana* is a four-pillared structure with a curved top having a crest. The *Indravāhana* is a miniature multi-tired *Gopura*. The *Śibikā* is palanquin, but it is not carried by holding the arched bamboo at its top but by a pair of horizontal poles fixed at the bottom.

silver for Narasimha and Kṛṣṇa who accompany him on the sides. The offering of coins in a golden pot, popularly known as *Kāṇikkai*, on the eighth day is mentioned.

The seventh section, named *Mṛgayāvarṇana*, details the ninth day's function and its special item, a silent procession outside the temple upto a spot where the Mahārāja, who leads the procession, performs a hunting ritual, soon after which all the musical instruments are sounded and the procession returns to the temple. The next section is *Abhiṣekayātrā*, and it describes what is popularly known as *Ārāṭ* procession on the concluding day of the festival when the deities in *Garuḍa-vāhana*, accompanied by those from some of the near by temples on elephants, are taken to the sea for ceremonial bath with vast paraphernalia including the cavalry, infantry, swordsmen, caparisoned elephants, decorated bulls, horses and so on. The account is meticulous and does not fail to mention even the salute of guns with its loud boom rending the air when the deities just leave the fort and re-enter while returning. The ninth is *Tīrthābhiṣeka* and deals with the bathing ceremony and the return procession.

The last stabaka is *Lakṣadīpaślāghā* and gives in picturesque detail the sexennial festival called *Lakṣadīpa* for which Nambūdiri Brahmins from all over Kerala are invited for recitation of the Vedas in the forenoon, *Sahasranāmajapa* in the afternoon and *Jalajapa* in the evening for eight weeks and are well accommodated, sumptuously fed and liberally rewarded in cash and kind, and which concludes with the ceremony of countless lamps.

The work ends with a verse where the author gives his name, Rāma Varma, born in the asterism Svātī, and the date of its composition in the Kali chronogram '*Śam sadālam nidadhyāt*' which works out to A.D. 1838, that is, when he was twenty-five years old.

Literary beauty

As a literary piece and a *campū* at that, its value consists in its presentation of facts in a telling manner without over elaboration or exaggeration, in fairly simple language using figures of speech only to drive home the ideas, and not for ornateness for its own sake, and in the perfect balance between verse and prose, the verses numbering 200 and the prose passages just five more. The chain of apparent contradictions and their resolution by *double entendre* (*virodhābhāsa* and *śleṣa*) which marks Sanskrit prose writings in general, and *campūs* in particular, is conspicuous by its absence here. Being a narrative and descriptive work, it abounds in descriptions, and being one aimed at inculcating devotion in the readers, that element is stressed throughout. Long stories are admirably epitomised. Fine figures of sound and sense sparkle from beginning to end.

We may cite a few instances :

The passage beginning with शयनीभूतमृणालधवलदन्दशूकपरिवृढातिविततफणासहस्रमिषान्निखिलभुवनव्यापिन कीर्तिमयेनेव श्वेतच्छत्रेणावृतोपरिभागं and ending with हृदयसम्भूतकुतुकसूचकमन्दहासमनोहरमुखारविन्दं चापश्यत् स यतिपरिवृढो भगवन्तम् (III. Prose 4)

which is the longest prose passage in the work, though short compared with similar descriptions in other works, is highly lofty. It describes the Lord in Anantavana as seen by Divākara, attended by Lakṣmi and Bhūmi and extolled by sages and Apsarases and Gandharvas rendering service by their dancing and music. The *Keśādipādavarṇana* in 16 verses preceding this passage, is another impressive account. The divine child pouring water over the head of the sage, drenching his clothes with water, ringing the bell near his ear, eating the fruits kept for the *pūjā* etc., are described gracefully and realistically. As stated already, the festivals are described in meticulous detail.

The work abounds in assonant expressions like

सन्नः खिन्नतनुश्च खिन्नहृदयः संन्यासिनाथोऽभवत्

(II. verse 8)

दिवाकरोष्मार्दितविग्रहोऽपि दिवाकरो नो विरराम मार्गात् ।

(II. verse 10)

and

हरिं जित्वा कान्त्या हरिमपि हरेर्मन्दिरगता हरेर्लीलां ध्वान्तप्रकरकरियूथे विदधती ।

(X. verse 14)

The device called *Śṛṅkhalāgadya,* corresponding to what is known as *antādi* in Tamil, is resorted to in some places like

उपदीकृतपरमावदातरुचिमन्दहसितमयनवमुक्ताहारं,

मुक्ताहाररतिमुखचिन्तननिजविनुतिपरपरमतापसं,

तापसमाकुलसाधुजनपरिपालनात्तविविधलीलावतारं

in the above-mentioned passage.

Among the numerous *alaṅkāras* used, a few like the *Virodhābhāsa* in

कुर्वाते चरणौ किलास्य जगतीभर्तुः सुरक्तावपी-

हासक्तान् परमात्मनि प्रतिमुहुर्भक्तान् विरक्तानलम् ।

(I. verse 8)

Rūpaka in

आरामं गुणसञ्चयस्य सदनं मुख्यं सदा श्रेयसः

कारुण्यस्य तथाकरो निरवधेराधेर्हि सिद्धौषधम् ।

घोराघौघदवाग्निसञ्चयघनः संसारमेघानिलः

साक्षान्मूलधनं सतां विजयते श्रीपद्मनाभः प्रभुः ॥

(I. verse 80)

Utprekṣā in

पीयूषस्य निवासभूमिरहमित्येवं मदेनाकुलो
दृष्ट्वामूल्यमृतप्रदामृतमयान्येतानि तीर्थान्यहो ।
मन्ये शोकसमाकुलो निजयशोहानिं विशङ्क्याधिकं
चन्द्रोऽसौ बत विस्रवन्नवसुधाधारामिषाद् रोदिति ॥

(V. verse 4)

and the *Śleṣa* in

स्यानन्दपूरं विशन्ति बत ते सन्नष्टतापाः क्षणा-
ज्जायन्ते किल माधवस्य नियतं शीलं द्विजप्रीणनम् ॥ [1]

may be noted as typical examples.

The sentiment of pathos is well brought out in the account of the anguish of the sage in verses like

हे कुन्द ! हे चम्पक ! हे रसाल ! हे मल्लिके ! मालति ! काननान्ते ।
दृष्टो नु किं साधुजनाब्जभृङ्गो युष्माभिराभीरवधूभुजङ्गः ॥

(II. verse 9)

which shows the sage so despondent as to enquire of the creepers and trees whether they saw the Lord anywhere, and

शिशुरिह खलु ताडितोऽपि मात्रा विलपति हे जननीति हि प्रकामम् ।
विसृजसि यदि मां तथा विना त्वामहमगतिः कतमं समाश्रयामि ॥

(II. verse 12)

where he implores the gracious pardon of the Divine boy by drawing the touching analogy that a child when beaten by the mother still cries aloud only 'O mother!'

The humour of the author is evident in his description of the Nambūdiris as running to the temple, soon after *jalajapa*, for their principal feast in the night like birds flying to the garden in spring:—

जलजपस्यान्ते पुनरप्येते द्विजातयो निखिलजगदीश्वरस्य भगवतो मन्दिरे सुधाकल्पानोदनादि-विविधपदार्थानास्वादयितुं सकुतुका माधवसमयसमलङ्कृतमुद्यानं द्विजा इव च पलायमानाः प्राप्नुवन्ति ।

(X. Prose 8)

the bare truth of which any one who has seen the function would testify.

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1 यथा द्विजानां पक्षिणां प्रीणनं माधवस्य वसन्तस्य स्वाभाविकं तथा द्विजानां ब्राह्मणानां सन्तोषणं माधवस्य श्रीपद्मनाभस्य स्वाभाविकमित्यर्थः ।

The musical mind of the author provides the music of words and perfect harmony between sound and sense by choosing appropriate metres like *Toṭaka* in describing the march of the horses in

पवमानसमानजवाः सहसा नवहेमविभूषणलालसिताः ।

पदलम्बितकिङ्किणिमञ्जुरवाः पुरतोऽस्य हरेः प्रचरन्ति हयाः ॥

मृदुपातचलद्दलसंस्थतनूरुहसञ्चयरम्यतरो नितराम् ।

सकलां जनतां मुदितां कलयन् विलसत्यतितुङ्गतुरङ्गगणः ॥

(VIII. verses 13&14)

and the rather rare *Kusumamañjarī* when the devotees in their delight describe the Lord re-entering the temple in

निर्भरप्रणयनिश्चलत्रिदशवृन्दगीतमहिमा मुदा

भक्तवर्यशुकनारदादिमुनिवन्द्यमानचरणाम्बुजः ।

स्निग्धहासनवचन्द्रिकाविसरपाण्डरीकृतचराचरः

पश्य विश्वमभिनन्दयन् व्रजति मन्दिरान्तरिह माधवः ॥

(IX. verse 4)

and the following nine verses, all having the fourth line here as the refrain. The onomatopoeic effect in these instances is remarkable.

The author was steeped in the form and spirit of the great stotra *Nārāyaṇīya* of Melputtūr Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and as in the *Bhaktimañjarī*, here too we get clear echoes of it as in

सोऽयं स्वीयपदारविन्दयुगलध्यानैकसक्तात्मनां

नॄणां काममकामितानपि दिशन् भोगानिहान्ते पुनः ।

सच्चिन्मोदमयीं निवृत्तिरहितां मुक्तिं ददाति स्वयं

श्रीमानत्र परां किमर्थ्यमपरं लोके शुभं जन्तुभिः ॥

(I. verse 3)

which may be compared with

नम्राणां सन्निधत्ते सततमपि पुरस्तैरनभ्यर्थितान-

प्यर्थान् कामानजस्रं वितरति परमानन्दसान्द्रां गतिं च ।

इत्थं निश्शेषलभ्यो निरवधिकफलः पारिजातो हरे ! त्वं

क्षुद्रं तं शक्रवाटीद्रुममभिलषति व्यर्थमर्थिव्रजोऽयम् ॥

(*Nārāyaṇīya* I. 8.)

Historical Value

From the historical point of view the work provides considerable information. Two divergent legends are current about the consecration of the Padmanābhasvāmi temple, one attributing it to saint Divākara and the other attributing it to the better known saint Vilvamaṅgala. The Mahārāja has preferred the first. This is in keeping with the long tradition and agrees with the account in the old work *Anantapurakṣetramāhātmya.*[1] A not-very-recent Tamil ballad also agrees with this. The association of Vilvamaṅgala with the temple must be much later. A full salted mango in a golden vessel in the shape of a coconut shell is a special *naivedya* for Padmanābha in the noon every day and this is taken to be in honour of Vilvamaṅgala who, finding nothing to offer to the deity at *naivedya* when he visited Anantapura, saw a (low caste) woman nearby selling such a mango, and he got one from her and performed the *naivedya.* This may be true but the consecration must have been done much earlier because we get literary and epigraphical evidence to show that the temple has been in existence earlier than the earliest age assigned to saint Vilvamaṅgala, namely 9th century A.D.[2]

Among the numerous items described, we find many continuing to the present day, some that were in vogue till a decade or two ago and a few that ceased to be in vogue sometime earlier.

The processions within the temple continue as before, but those outside like the *Abhiṣekayātrā* with a little diminished pomp and splendour after the Mahārāja ceased to be the ruler. The infantry brigade is replaced by the police force and the colourful costumes given a go-by. The cavalry also is nominal. A large number of musical instruments are mentioned like *Murali, Mṛdaṅga, Paṇava, Bherī, Śaṅkha, Kāhala, Śṛṅga, Karatāla, Dundubhi, Ḍamaru* and *Paṭaha* and all these are still in use. It may be noted that the *Nāgasvara* is referred to as *Muralikā,* the name '*Nāgasvara*' being not met with in ancient or medieval works on music. The *Lakṣadīpa* festival is there, but the oil lamps are, for the most part, substituted by electric lamps. The eight-week long *Murajapam* ceremony preceding it has been reduced to such an extent as to appear to be a mere apology for it.

The lavish feeding with delicious dishes all over the *Śrībalimaṇḍapa* to what would seem an endless stream of people, has become a matter for memory to the old and

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[1] It may be noted, however, that there is an account of Syānandūra in the *Varāhapurāṇa* (chapter 126) wherein the *tīrthas* mentioned are different, namely Rāmasaras, Brahmasaras, Śakrasaras, Saṅgamana, Śūrpāsaka and Jaṭākuṇḍa.

[2] For details see S. Venkitasubramonia Iyer, *Religion, Art and Culture,* Trivandrum, 1977, the chapter 'Padmanābha temple of Trivandrum'.

incredibility for the young.[1] This feeding was considered a *mahāmantra* in itself,[2] but with the change of times this has disappeared as many other items of a like nature.[3] The entertainments include *Kathakali*, the dance-drama of Kerala, *Tullal*, the narrative dance *Bharatanāṭya*, the expressive dance, classical music to the accompaniment of *Vīṇā*,[4] *Pāṭhaka* and *Kūttu*, narration of Purāṇic stories on the basis of *Campūprbandhas* with great humour, sword-throw, club-fight, wrestling, rope-dance, fancy dress and magic.[5] Mention is also made of *Velakali* in which a hundred soldiers dressed in their traditional manner present fighting feats in dance form before the big statues of Pāṇḍavas erected in front of the temple. All these could be seen till a decade ago.

Some changes seem to have occurred much earlier. Three big white umbrellas with golden handles are stated as taken out on the third day of the festival. We now find it on all the days. We find now two golden umbrellas also, an item which is not mentioned. Ladies carrying lamps at the rear of the procession is an item given for that day. We find this too on all days. On the seventh day is mentioned the music of the minstrels. This is now a common item on the other days also.

We find it mentioned as a daily item during the festival enchanting dance by damsels of dazzling beauty before the Lord, with tinkling anklets in graceful steps in tune with time and themselves singing in melodious voice in perfect tone and pleasing tempo and in sweet harmony with the flute and the *Mṛdaṅga*. We do not know when this came

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[1] It is true, for example, that two cooks from a family at Kavisseri in Palghat, were given the hereditary right for preparing the special *pāyasam* with ripe banana fruits for the *Murajapa* ceremony and that the fire-place for this was so high that a flight of steps was provided for this and the vessel in which it was to be prepared was so huge and heavy that it was placed in position at the time by two elephants with their trunks. But will a modern man, who had no occasion to see this, take it as true ?

[2] The work speaks of this as :—

प्रतिदिनजायमानासंख्यधरणीसुरान्नदानमयमहामन्त्रा परिगणितगुणनिकरः ।

[3] For example, the daily *naivedya* of *Pāyasa* of cow's milk in twelve big vessels, each carried on a pole by two persons, and distributed free, has been reduced to a single vessel.

[4] Vīṇā was the accompaniment for vocal music till Violin was introduced sometime about 1840 at the instance of Vaḍivelu from Tanjore who became the court musician. But for many more years the Vīṇā continued in the palace and in the temple.

[5] To this were added subsequently items like Pāvakkūttu, Mayilāṭṭam, Poykāl kutirayāṭṭam, Kolāṭṭam, Ammānayāṭṭam, Kampaṭi and Tiruvātirakkali. There were even dances by Muslims with sticks round a lamp.

to be stopped. It was, perhaps, its voluptuous nature which the author hints at, that brought about its banishment.[1]

Devotional Importance

From the devotional point of view, the work has great significance. In fact, it is written out of the author's great devotion to his tutelary deity and as an offering to Him.[2] This is quite in keeping with his idea of the aim of poetry outlined in the *Bhaktimañjarī* that a literary work, however good it may be with its faultless prose and perfect verse and sparkling rhyme and charming sense, if it does not extol God and his glory, it should be deemed a blabber in vain.[3] The entire work is suffused with the sentiment of devotion. And not a single occasion is missed that presents itself for a prayer or praise.

Apart from these, there are two full-length hymns incorporated into the work, one in prose and the other in verse.

The first is the *Daśāvatāragadya* given as uttered by the devotees when the Lord returns after *Abhiṣeka* in the sea. In ten sections (IX. Prose 13-22) it eulogises the Lord in his ten incarnations. Each is a series of epithets addressed to the Lord stating the main deeds in the particular incarnation and ends in the expression '*bhagavan namaste*'. It is a remarkable specimen of fine epitome and fervent expression of the profusion of profound piety. The passage relating to Rāma may be cited:

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[1] The author states that the dancing damsels were courtesans (*vāramukhyāḥ*, that their looks and gestures were aimed at attracting the youth (मधुरतरकटाक्षविविधतरचेष्टाभेदैर्निखिल-युवजनहृदयारविन्देष्वनङ्गरसमयमहीरुहबीजं किरन्त्यः and among the audience, while some enjoyed the dancing skill and some the music, others simply admired the charms of the danseuse (केचन गानरसिकाः गानचातुर्येण केचनाभिनयकौशलेन केचित् सौन्दर्यमात्रेणैव प्रीणिता भवन्ति)

(V. Prose 29, 30)

[2] See the concluding verse in the *Prabandha* :—

स्वातीजातेन चूडाधृतसरसिजनाभाङ्घ्रियुग्मेन लक्ष्मी-
राज्ञीपुत्रेण तञ्चीश्वरकुलजनुषा रामवर्माभिधेन ।
भक्त्युद्रेकेण शश्वद् गुरुवरकृपया निर्मितं चम्पुकाव्यं
स्यानन्दूरेश्वरस्य प्रमितमुपहृतं शं सदालं निदध्यात् ॥

[3] रम्यापि ध्वनिमण्डितापि यमकप्रासोज्ज्वलापि प्रभो !
प्रौढार्थाप्यनवद्यगद्यगणयुक्पद्यान्वितापि ध्रुवम् ।
श्रीजाने ! यदि साहिती तव गुणालापैरलं वर्जिता
धिक् तां मोघतमां वृथाप्रलपितप्रायामिहाधोक्षज ! ॥

(*Bhakti*, I. 57)

अतिविवशसुरमुनिपरिषदभ्यर्थनया सनाथीकृतभुवनपवित्रदिवाकरान्वय ! तपोधनवतंसकुशिकनन्दनसत्रावनविध्वंसितखलमारीचसुबाहुमुखनिशाचरपुङ्गव ! चरणाम्बुजपरागसुभगीकृतचिरतरपाषाणीभूतगौतमदार ! महेश्वरकार्मुकविभेदनसंप्राप्तजनकजात । स्वायोध्यापुरप्रवेशसमयसरोषसमागतसमस्तराजन्यकुलविमतजामदग्न्याटोपतूलीकरणचणप्रताप ! दशरथवाक्यपरित्यक्तराष्ट्र ! अनुजदारसहितसङ्गतदण्डकारण्यसमागतचण्डविराधमुखखण्डन ! पञ्चवटीसमागतशूर्पणखाकर्णनासाच्छेदनाकर्णनसरोषागतखरदूषणत्रिशिरोमुखचतुर्दशसाहस्रयातुधाननिर्मूलन ! कनकमृगरूपधरखलमारीचमर्दन ! कुहनामस्करिरूपधरदशकण्ठहृतदयित ! कलितसुग्रीवसख्य ! सप्ततालच्छेदन ! वालिनिधन ! दयितान्वेषणसम्प्रेषितबहुवानरमुख्यसमीरणसुतानीतचूडामणिदर्शनहृष्ट ! कलितसेतुबन्धन ! सम्प्रविष्टलङ्कानगर ! निशिचरसमूहसहितरावणनिधन ! दयितासहितागतनिजनगर ! कलितपट्टाभिषेक ! श्रीरामचन्द्र ! भगवन् ! नमस्ते ।

It may be noted that the name of Kaikeyī is not mentioned at all, nor her machinations.

The hymn in verse is a *stotra* of Padmanābha in ten stanzas as uttered by the Vaidika Brahmins at the time of the *Lakṣadīpa.* (X. verses 15-24). It is known as *Viśvagurustotra* and starts with the *śloka* :

विश्वं दृश्यमिदं यतः समभवद् यस्मिन् य एतत् पुन-
र्भासा यस्य विराजतेऽथ सकलं येनेह वा निर्मितम् ।
यो वाचां मनसोऽप्यगोचरपदं मायातिगो भासते
तस्मै देव ! नमोऽस्तु विश्वगुरवे श्रीपद्मनाभाय ते ॥

The other *ślokas* also have as the refrain the last line of this *śloka.* The whole hymn is highly philosophical in content.

There is also the *Padmanābhakeśādipādastuti*, strictly speaking *varṇana*, referred to earlier (II. verses 4-19), where we get the attractive form of the Lord from head to foot in expressions teeming with devotion.

Philosophical Import

We may examine the philosophical content of the *Viśvagurustotra* mentioned above. The opening verse itself is reminiscent of the starting verse in the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti stotra* of Śaṅkarācārya,

विश्वं दर्पणदृश्यमाननगरीतुल्यं etc.

Here Svāti Tirunāḷ rises from the level of the ordinary devotee to the level of the philosopher. His ultimate stand is akin to that of Saṅkara's. The world is a product of

nescience (*avidyā*) which in its cosmic form is called *māyā*. By the acquisition of true knowledge (*jñāna*) it is possible to overcome this. Then is realised the supreme spirit which transcends *māyā*. Svāti Tirunāḷ, therefore, speaks of the Supreme as one beyond words and mind and as transcending *māyā* [1]. But in the strain of the Vedāntin, who is also a *bhakta*, he proclaims that ignorance is dispelled by the grace of God even as darkness is dispelled by the lustre of the sun,[2] and that knowledge of the illusoriness of the world, like snake fancied on the rope, is attained by bhakti properly practised under the guidance of a preceptor[3] And he declares Padmanābha to be the visible manifestation (*Saguṇabrahman*), which is not different from the Absolute (*nirguṇabrahman*); spoken of as neither Being nor non-Being,[4] the relation between the two being that of the ocean and its wave.[5]

Musical outlook

The *Prabandha* is also interesting in another respect, namely that it contains a verse which gives us an idea of Svāti Tirunāḷ's concept of music. This is noteworthy because he was a musician himself, a composer and a patron of music. It reads:—

कल्याणी विश्वरम्या नवरसभरिता कुर्वती तुष्टिमन्त-
निंत्यं नीलाम्बरीयानुजरुचिरकथासारयुक्ता वरेण्या ।
सारङ्गादीन् मृगानप्यहह विदधती मोदपीयूषमग्नान्
एतेषां गायकानां लसति निरुपमा कापि गीतिर्मनोज्ञा ॥

(VI. verse 14)

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1 यो वाचां मनसोऽप्यगोचरपदं मायातिगो भासते ।

(X, Śloka 15)

2 मार्तण्डो गगनोदितस्तु तिमिरं यद्वत् पिनष्टि क्षणात्
अज्ञानं किल तद्वदेव कृपया योऽसौ विधत्ते हतम् ।

(ibid, 19)

3 यस्येशस्य निषेवयानवमया स्वाचार्यवर्याननाद्
उद्भूताप्रतिमोपदेशविकसत्सद्धर्मनावाप्तया ।
मिथ्यात्वं जगतः स्फुटं हृदि भवेद् रज्जौ यथाहेस्तथा ।

(ibid, 17)

4 नैवासच्च सदित्यनन्तधिषणाः प्राहुर्महान्तो बुधाः ।

(ibid, 18)

5 सच्चित्पूर्णसुखैकवारिधिलसत्कल्लोलरूपाय वै
तस्मै देव नमोऽस्तु विश्वगुरवे श्रीपद्मनाभाय ते ।

(ibid, 24)

It describes the music performance in the temple as beautiful, auspicious, devoted to the deeds of the Lord, displaying the different emotions, captivating the whole universe, ever delighting the mind, immersing even animals in joy and matchless in quality.

We find here the *rāga* - names *Kalyāṇi*, *Nīlāmbarī*, *Sāraṅga* and *Kapi* skilfully woven into the four feet of the verse, thus giving it *mudrālaṅkāra* and the form of a *rāgamālikā*. It shows us the Mahārāja's admirable tribute to his court musicians. It tells us indirectly what the author considers as the characteristics of good music. Real music should have a universal appeal; it should display the diverse emotional moods; it should always delight the mind and be an antidote to sorrow; it should celebrate the glories of the Divine; and it should possess a superior quality by conforming to the highest standards of the art. It may be noted that his own compositions exemplify these qualities.

The *Syānandūraraprabandha* is thus, important in several respects and deserves detailed study.

The Heroine of S'ukasandes'a

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The Genre

Generally speaking the mode of a message poem is the sending of a message by the separated lover to his beloved though instances for the vice-versa also are to be found. Usually the heroine is a model of virtue and a creation of the fancy of the poet having nothing to do with real life. The name of the heroine is often suggested vaguely or not at all mentioned. *Meghasandeśa* of Kālidāsa, the first and foremost, is an instance. A Yakṣa employed under Kubera is separated from his spouse by a curse. Living at Rāmagiri, he sends a message to his sweetheart in Alakā. Her name is not mentioned by the poet, his main interest being the description of certain regions and cultural and religious institutions from central India to mount Kailāsa.

Ingenious scholars have tried to identify the heroine pointing out the story of Yakṣa narrated in the *Yoginīmāhātmyam.*[1] The incident in the above work is considered as the source of *Meghasandeśa* theme. A Yakṣa named Hemamālin neglected his duty of gathering flowers from the Mānasa lake and stayed in the company of his wife Viśālākṣī. Kubera cursed him with the disease of leucoderma and banished him. There is no evidence to show that Kālidāsa drew upon this theme. None of his commentators refers to this story. *Līlatilaka*, a 14th century Malayalam work on poetics produced in Kerala contains a stanza from an anonymous *Sandeśakāvya* in Malayalam which suggests that the heroine was the sister of king Vikramāditya.[2]

The situation that we meet with in Sanskrit *Sandeśakāvyas*, is that the poets simply refer to an imaginary hero and heroine and effect their separation employing convenient ruses. Messengers are chosen at random and routes are suggested to them for their journey. Often an indirect route is preferred since the poet's interest is to describe certain regions in which he has some special interest. The message itself is very often an echo of the *Meghasandeśa* theme. Hence it is often said that there is only one message poem in Sanskrit.

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[1] M. Krishnamachariar, *History of Classical Sanskrit Liteturare*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1970, p. 360 fn. 1.

[2] *Līlātilaka*, ed. P. N. Kunjan Pillai, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1958, p. 126:

Svasre pūrvam mahitanṛpater vikramādityanāmnaḥ
pōkkām cakre taruṇajaladam kālidāsaḥ kavīndraḥ.

A new perspective

Coming to Kerala we notice a change in the attitude of poets regarding message poems. Here most of them were composed at the heyday of the Maṇipravāla period which witnessed an agreeable fusion of Sanskrit and Malayalam. Eulogy of heroines is the general feature of this literature. Almost all the major compositions of the period with exception to a few devotional lyrics deal with the charms of the nymphs of the earth which attract the envy of even celestial beings. Each courtesan has got a retinue of poets to sing her glory. It is observed: " Some of the poets are after money and they compoes verses for the remuneration they get from the heroines they eulogise. Others are more chivalrous: they compose verses, visit their heroines every morning and recite their compositions in melodious voice But the reception they get is not uniformly good. Anyhow all these stanzas point to the common practice adopted by poets and poetasters, of composing panegyrics in honour of beautiful women ".[1] In fact, it is often proclaimed that Maṇipravāla literature deals mostly with the description of women, particularly those belonging to the clan of temple dancers.[2] It seems that kings and feudal chieftains commissioned poets to write on their sweethearts and mistresses. In the *Padyaratnam* several references are made to kings and noblemen at whose instance poets wrote eulogies on women. Very often message poems are also addressed to them. *Uṇṇunīlisandeśa* unlike the famous *Sandeśakāvyas* in Sanskrit begins with five introductory stanzas that do not form part of the main body of the text. In one of them the poet expresses the hope that his poem will bring glory to the family of Uṇṇunīli.[3] The anonymous author of *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam* also refers to a message poem on the heroine of his composition.[4] Here a lover entreats the heroine to lend her ear to a message poem (*sandeśappāṭṭu*) on her. Very often heroines were addressed with a new name or a name popular on the stage, which is attributed to them in their prime of youth by poets who are bent upon eulogising them. Thus Āṭi referred to popularly as

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[1] K. Ramachandran Nair, *Early Maṇiprāvalam–A Study*, Trivandrum, 1971, p. 81.

[2] *Padyaratnam*, ed. Dr. P. K. Narayana pillai, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum, 1949, Introduction, pp. 14-15:

Maṇipravālavidyeyam pāṭhakeṣvavatiṣṭhate |
Lambraśipriparīvārā mahilālimahāspadā ||

[3] *Uṇṇunīlisandeśam*, ed. Elamkulam P. N. Kunjan pillai, National Book stall, Kottyam, 1960, p. 42:

Illattinnunnatim te vitaratu nitarāmākayāl uṇṇunīlī
collintēṅenkil nī kēṭṭaruḷuka dayitē sūktiratnam madīyam.

[4] *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam*, ed., Suranadu Kunjan Pillai, (II edn.), Kerala University, Trivandrum, 1971, p 43 :

Uṇṇiccirutēvī ṇinmēloru
sandeśappāṭṭoṇṭatu keḷkka.

Uṇṇi-āṭi is the original name given to a dancing girl of Kaṇṭiyūr. The word '*āṭi*' in the Dravidian languages connotes the rainy month. The poet remarks that the name was appropriate since she provided happiness to her tormented lovers, her breasts bearing semblance with rain-clouds in their expanse and thickness.[1] Here it may be noted that the word '*uṇṇi*' is very often used as a feminine prefix to the names of women though generally the word stands for a boy or male child in Malayalam. Instances like Uṇṇi-nīli, Uṇṇi-āṭi, Uṇṇi-cirutēvi, Uṇṇi-acci etc., may be noted in this connection. The mother of Uṇṇi-cirutēvi was Uṇṇi-appiḷḷa. Uṇṇi-āṭi, the heroine of the *campū* named after her, was later given the name of Māramāla by Maṇipravāla poets because of her charming qualities.[2]

The Heroine of Śukasandeśa

It is against this background that the *Śukasandeśa* of Lakṣmīdāsa needs a careful study. It is perhaps the earliest message poem in Sanskrit produced in Kerala. It was composed at a time when the Maṇipravāla poets were vying with each other to eulogise beautiful ladies generally belonging to the class of professional dancers in temples. They composed different *campūs* like *Uṇṇiyaccicarita*, *Uṇṇiccirutēvicarita*, and *Uṇṇiyāṭicarita* and the message poem *Uṇṇunīlisandeśa*—all in Malayalam depicting the glories of the respective heroines. Occasionally *Sandeśa* poems as the one referred to above were composed and they were referred to often as *Sandeśappāṭṭ*. *Śukasandeśa* was the first Sanskrit poem to eulogise a Maṇipravāla heroine belonging to the clan of dancers.

The name of the heroine of the poem is given as Raṅgalakṣmī. The very first, stanza of the poem contains a veiled reference to the name of the heroine.[3] Actually here the reference is to a mansion which is described as the dancing hall of the Goddess of prosperity. Here it may noted that the house of Uṇṇi-appiḷḷa is also referred to as a dance

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[1] *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam*, ed., Suranadu Kunjan Pillai, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1971 (II edn), p. 51 :

Āṭiyentuḷḷa pēr pārttāl bāḍham anvartham eva te |
tvam hi śarmapradā pumsām samhatorupayodharā ||

[2] *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam*, p. 51 :

Prathamaprathitam manoharāṅgi-
kkoru pēr añcitam uṇṇiyāṭiyentu |
Tiraḷintatu mattumontidānīm
tirnnāmam bhuvi māramālayentu ||

[3] *Śukasandeśa*, ed. P. S. Anantanarayana Sastri, Mangalodayam Press, Trichur (1113 M. E.), stanza 1.

Lakṣmyā raṅge śaradi śaśinaḥ. . . . . etc.

hall of the Goddess of riches.[1] In a particular stanza the poet refers to the real name as well as the popular name or stage name of the heroine as follows : [2]

Vaktre padmam dṛśi kuvalayam kairavam mandahāse
haste raktotpalam api vapuḥ prekṣya saṃgṛhya sakhyaḥ |
Ap-phulleti sphuṭam abhidadhatyadbhutāṅgīm athānye
saṅgītārthapraṇayanavidaḥ prekṣakā raṅgalakṣmīm ||

Thus we know that the real name of the heroine was Ap-phullā. Obviously this is a modification of some Malayalam name. It is stated that her childhood friends knew her only by the name Ap-phullā and it is only much later that she got the stage name. The poet states that the name Raṅgalakṣmī was given to her by many poets. In this connection the following comments by Gaurīdāsa, the author of the *Cintātilaka* commentary on *Śukasandeśa* is interesting :—[3]

" *Atra savayā ityanena ājanmasiddhaparicayasya pitrādikṛta-nāmamātraparicayād etadīya-yauvanodayajanita-viśiṣṭa-saṃjñāntara-paricayābhāvam darśayati. Prekṣakāḥ prekṣā-vicakṣaṇāḥ raṅgalakṣmīṃ samgirante. Raṅgalakṣmīrityasyā mahākavibhir utprekṣitam viśiṣṭam nāma. Yad āhuḥ:*—

Amalam amṛtam aṅkair bimbam uṭṭaṅkya yatnād
atha vidhirathavā syāḥ svairam indoḥ karaughaiḥ |
Manasijakuladaivam maṅgalam raṅgalakṣmīm
atanuta bhuvi nāmnā saptalokapratiṣṭhāḥ. ||

Anyepyāhuḥ :—

Yauvanārambhahṛdyāṅgīm nṛttayogyavidhāyinīm |
Sāraṅgalakṣmīm nayane raṅgalakṣmīm ca nāmani ||

Thus Gaurīdāsa, the commentator observes that the name Raṅgalakṣmī was applied to the heroine after she became a maiden of accomplishment. In other words it was a stage name given to her in appreciation of her histrionic talent. He also quotes two stanzas from contemporary literature to show that the heroine was referred to by the stage name in other works also. V. Rajarajavarma Raja has cited the first verse quoted above in his Malayalam commentary and observed that Lakṣmidāsa himself must have composed it.

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[1] *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam*, p. 21.

Araṅṅivalakṣmyāḥ
naṭaviṭakavivarakēlīnilayam.

[2] *Śukasandeśa*, II. 31.

[3] Transcript No. 706 of the Kerala University Manuscripts Library Collections.

He has taken the verse from the *Varavarṇinī* commentary of Dharmagupta which is a detailed gloss on the message poem.[1]

In explaining the word 'ap-phullā' occurring in the stanza, Gaurīdāsa states: "Janāstām ap-phulleti. Samjñeyam yogavṛtyeti jñeyam. Apsu phullāḥ kusumāni tānyevāsyā aṅgānīti".

Mānaveda, the author of the *Vilāsinī*[2] commentary on the poem however explains the passages without referring to other details, as follows: "*Apsu phullāḥ vikasitāḥ puṣpaviśeṣāḥ yasyām iti vyadhikaraṇabahuvrīhiḥ. Sā ap-phulletyarthaḥ. Samgṛhya padmādīnām tattannāmagrahaṇagauravāt jalotpannapuṣpāṇām ap-phulletyekavācakābhidhāne abhipretyeti yāvat*".

From the above it is clear that the heroine was known under some name which was Sanskritised by Lakṣmīdāsa as Ap-phullā. Ullur S. Parameswara Iyer observes that the word must be the Sanskritised form of some Malayalam noun though he does not venture to suggest any possible form.[3] It is possible that the Sanskritisation was on the basis of onomatopoeic principle. In other words, it is the Sanskritisation of some name like Appuḷḷa or Appiḷḷa. Vowel sounds 'u' and 'i' often undergo interchange as in Uṇṇinīli and Uṇṇu-nīli. Thus Appiḷḷa may have a form like Appuḷḷa.

Uṇṇi-Appiḷḷā-the Heroine

A perusal of the contemporary Malayalam literature will be helpful in identifying the heroine of *Śukasandeśa*. In this connection *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam*, the Maṇipravāla *campū* of anonymous authorship, provides some interesting details. The heroine of the *campū* was the daughter of one Uṇṇi-appiḷḷa. The poet begins the work with the following lines[4]:

Vighno vighnapraśāntim pradiśatu poyilattuṇṇiyappiḷḷaputrīm
varṇippān vallutākintita mama toḷukaiyyintu vāgdevatāyāḥ ||

"May Lord Vighneśvara remove obstruction, may the Goddess of speech give me strength in describing the daughter of Uṇṇiappiḷḷa"—observes the poet. He states that in Poyilam in South Malabar there is a house of dancers known as Toṭṭuvāyppaḷḷi which is the very abode of the art of histrionics.[5] It was haunted by actors, poets

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[1] *Bhāshāśukasandeśam* with com. by V. Rajarajavarma Raja, Kamalalaya Book Depot, Trivandrum, 1958 (II edn.), p. 7.

[2] Manuscript No. 587 of the Kerala University Collections.

[3] *Keralasāhityacaritram*, University of Travancore, 1957, Vol. I, p. 149.

[4] *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam*, p. 20.

[5] Ibid, pp. 24-25:

Nāṭyavidyā svayam kōyilkoḷvānuṭan
nāṭṭinōrillamenṭiṅṅane varṇitam. . . .
Tōṭṭuvāyppaḷḷiyentaṇṇu tasmin
viyetam natīmandiram. . . .

and similar people and hence it was like a dance hall of prosperity.[1] In that house there was a danseuse called Naṅṅayayya who was the spouse of Rāyara, probably a king or chieftain. She was a well-known artist endowed with various qualities.[2] To her was born a daughter called Rāyarampiḷḷa whose qualities could not be narrated even if one possesses a thousand tongues. She was applauded by many an assembly of audience.[3] It may be noted here that *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam,* a Malayalam *campū* by Tēvan Cirikumān (Dēvan Śrīkumāran), also refers to this Rāyarampiḷḷa and her daughter. The daughter referred to as a Naṅṅayār is none other than Uṇṇiccirutēvi.[4] This Rāyarampiḷḷa is to be identified with Appiḷḷa or Uṇṇiāppiḷḷa, the mother of Uṇṇi-cirutēvi, the heroine of *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam.* The author of this *campū* states that she was born to Appiḷḷa like a pearl to the shell.[5] Thus the mother of Uṇṇi-cirutēvi known under the name of Rāyarampiḷḷa on account of her being the daughter of Rāyara (Rājaśekhara) is also known under the alias Appiḷḷa or Uṇṇi-appiḷḷa as is usually referred to with the prefix 'uṇṇi'. The poem uses both the above forms.

Now we may identify the heroine of *Śukasandeśa* with Appiḷḷa or Uṇṇi-appiḷḷa, the mother of Uṇṇi-cirutēvi. The noun ' appiḷḷa ' is Sanskritised by Lakṣmīdāsa as Apphullā in the sense 'grown or blown in water'. Accordingly his commentators Gaurīdāsa,

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[1] Ibid, p. 19 :

Araṅṅivalakṣmyāḥ
naṭaviṭakavivarakēlīnilayam.

[2] Ibid, p. 29 :

Mukkaṇpirānentu tonṭikkavallum guṇālamkṛtā
rūpaśīlādhikā rāyarapreyasī poṅṅiyeṅṅum
viḷaṅṅinta kīrtiśriyā śobhinī paṅṅumikkujjvalā
Naṅṅayayyeti kācinnaṭī nāyikā. . . .

[3] Ibid, pp. 29-30 :

Tatsutāsīt punaḥ satsabhāmānitā. . . .
Hanta kim vistarair āyiram nāvukonṭāmaḷam
collilum vāyil miñcum guṇā
Rāyarampiḷḷayentāyatākṣīśikhā
yā khalu śrūyate. . .

[4] *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam,* ed. Dr. P. K. Narayana Pillai, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1970 (II edn) :

Rāyarampiḷḷa tan nandanā naṅṅayār
tūyakūrakal tarum. . . .

[5] *Uṇṇiccirutēvicaritam,* p. 30.

Utpannā punar upacitalakṣmī-
rappikkiva taraḷākṛtitanimu-
ttappiḷḷakkoru tirumakaḷ . . . .

Mānaveda and others explain the passage in the same sense. However Puliyannūr S. Rama Iyer, a Malayalam commentator of the poem, suggests a new meaning taking the word to mean 'daughter of water'.[1] With an ingenuity Lakṣmīdāsa has tried to explain the Sanskritised form Ap-phullā and as a result he has composed the first half of the stanza emplyoing a number of standards of comparison like lotus, blue lotus, lily and red lotus. It may be noted that he was only trying to justify the form 'ap-phullā' which he coined from the Malayalam word 'appiḷḷa'.

It is interesting to note that many scholars consider Lakṣmīdāsa to be the husband or lover of the heroine of the poem. Some even suggest that his name is suggestive of his indebtedness or deep love for his wife.[2] His original name is taken as Bhavatrāta and that it was his friends who gave him the name Lakṣmīdāsa because of his love for Raṅgalakṣmī.[3] He is believed to have been a member of the Kariṅṅampaḷḷi family of Nampūtiri Brāhmins.

To sum up: Ap-phullā alias Raṅgalakṣmī of *Śukasandeśa* may be identified with Appiḷḷa or Uṇṇi-appiḷḷa having the alias Rāyarampiḷḷa mentioned as the mother of Uṇṇi-cirutēvi. She belonged to the Tōṭṭuvāyppaḷḷi house of Poyilam, a region of Covvaram in South Malabar and she was a Naṅṅyār lady—a professional danseuse in Kerala temples. She is also referred to in *Uṇṇiyaccciaritam* of Tēvan Cirikumān. Her father was Rāyara, a king or chieftain and her mother was Naṅṅayayya, a famous dancing girl. The author of the message poem might have been her husband or lover.

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[1] *Śukasandeśam*, trans. by Mathom Parameswaran Namputiri, with com. by Puliyannur S. Rama Iyer, Kottayam, 1968, p. 102.

"*appinte* (*vellattinte*) *puḷḷa* (*putri*)",

[2] Ibid, p. 16.

[3] Ibid, p. 103.

शृङ्गारशर्कराक्षोदसङ्गातिमधुराकृति ।
जयति प्रथितं काव्यं शुकसन्देशसंज्ञितम् ॥ १ ॥

तस्यातिमोहनगभीरतरार्थजातसम्पूरितोदर-समुद्र-सहोदरस्य ।
द्वारापिधानशकलोद्धरणप्रवीणां श्रीमानवेदनृपतिर्विवृतिं करोति ॥ २ ॥

लक्ष्मीदासकवीश्वरेण भणितस्सन्देशकाव्याचलो
गूढार्थोच्छ्रयदुर्गमोऽप्यधिषणाशक्त्या मयारुह्यते ।
श्रान्तश्चेत्पतितोऽन्तरा गुरुकृपायष्टिं गरिष्ठां तदा
विष्टभ्याधिककृच्छ्रतः स्थविरवद् गन्तास्मि चाधित्यकाम् ॥ ३ ॥

लक्ष्मीदासकवेरुदारवचसस्सन्देशकाव्याङ्गजो
बह्वर्थश्रुतवृत्तिमण्डनगुणश्रीमानवेदान्नृपात् ।
जातामद्य विलासिनीं सहृदयां गृह्णन् बुधेभ्योऽधिकं
दत्त्वार्थान् दृढरक्षितं जनयतामानन्दमस्यां सदा ॥ ४ ॥

—श्रीमानवेदनृपतेः विलासिनीव्याख्यायाम् आमुखश्लोकाः ॥

Ās'caryacūḍāmaṇi of S'aktibhadra on the Kerala Stage

D. APPUKUTTAN NAIR

Trivandrum

Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri was the scholar who brought to prominence the drama *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra, by his illuminating introduction to the Bālamanoramā Edition of the work in 1926.[1]

Kuppuswami Sastri said, " *Cūḍāmaṇi* is the best of Rāma plays, refreshingly free from features that contribute to heaviness and unstageworthiness . . . . with a very agreeable quickness of action secured by the judicious adoption of the device of Aṅkāvatāra and the dropping of Viṣkambha, except where they are necessary, with a well adjusted time element, the *Cūḍāmaṇi* would stage best of all the Rāma plays; and this is perhaps the chief reason why it is so popular and esteemed so highly among the professional actors called Cākyārs ".[2]

Sri Vaṭakumkūṛ Raja Raja Varma in his *Kerala Samskṛta Sāhitya Caritram* ascribes the excellence of *Cūḍāmaṇi* for stage presentation to the brevity of descriptions; short duration of the acts; short phrases in dialogue, and the sweet and pleasant diction which suits the oral delivery by the actor and the conservation of the purity of *aucitya* and *rasa.*

Brevity of dialogues, descriptions, well adjusted time elements and other qualities mentioned by Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri and Vaṭakumkūṛ will help towards the success of a performance which largely depends on the oral rendering of the text of the drama. However, for a highly evolved audio-visual representational art-form like Kūṭiyāṭṭam, which is dominated by kriyāṅga (action) rather than speech, (not overlooking the speech-dominated Mantrāṅkam in Bhāsa's *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa*, where that single act takes forty-one nights for performance, of which thirty-eight nights are devoted to oral discourses) the text of the drama serves only as a nucleus. But the text should provide enough scope for augmentation and transformation before communication (*abhinaya*) to the Āsvādakas (appreciators). The text should be like a rosary of beads, each bead containing within itself raw materials for audio-visual modes of poetic expression in a highly compressed form. The moment they are activated, there sho ts out

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[1] However, *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* was translated into Malayalam by Kodungallur Kunjikuttan Tampuran and printed in the Kerala Kalpadrumam Press, Trichur earlier in 1893. The text had also been used extensively and intensively by the Cākyars of Kerala for Kūṭiyāṭṭam, for several centuries.

[2] Introduction to Bālamanoramā Edition of *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* (1926).

several seeds, each of which will germinate and grow into a plant and then a tree with flowers and fruits. It is the fragrance of the flowers in an aerosol form and the juicy flavour of the fruits in a liquid form, that can more easily transcend into the mind of the Āsvādaka. This transformation of the text helps the Āsvādaka to a better relish than the physical audio-visual pleasure that he derives by a mere rendering of the text of the dialogue—in effect, the taste of a dry seed is not as good as the juice from a fruit which permeates the whole being. The plot, time-sequence, etc., serve only as an elastic string which connects the beads. I say elastic, because the plot should be capable of elongation.

A drama is really stageworthy for the Kūṭiyāṭṭam type of performance, only if it has the above potential quality—potential for creative reproduction. If the seeds in the bead are sterile, they would not germinate and grow into flower or fruit-bearing trees. Some of them may create only stunted trees. Thus, the degree of success of a drama on the stage depends upon several "Sūkṣma" or abstract hidden qualities. A drama which may have apparently great qualities from the point of view of poetics, may not be successful on the Kūṭiyāṭṭam stage. More than Kālidāsa's *Śākuntalam* or other plays, Bhāsa and Śaktibhadra-plays are therefore more successful for presentation in Kūṭyāṭṭam. All the thirteen plays of Bhāsa belong to the Kūṭiyāṭṭam repertoire, as also Śrī Harṣa's *Nāgānanda*, Kulaśekhara Varman's *Subhadrādhanañjayam* and *Tapatīsamvaraṇam*. In spite of the fact that many of these dramas lean heavily on the Vidūṣaka more of them have attained the degree of success as *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* of Śaktibhadra.

The unique suitability of Kūṭiyāṭṭam type of presentation for the successful handling of poetics like Varṇanās, Alaṅkāras, Dhvani, etc., as also its capacity to represent superhuman characters like Rāvaṇa with ten heads, the speaking bird Jaṭāyu, the quickly transforming Śūrpaṇakhā and Mārīca, etc., and the miraculous scene such as the transformation of Rāvaṇa (disguised as Rāma) back to his original form due to the power of *Cūḍāmaṇi*, and the supernatural environment of Aśokavanikā are all employed in the performance of *Cūḍāmaṇi* with great effect. This effectiveness is achieved in Kūṭiyāṭṭam by the transformation of the above inexpressible elements into the symbolic media of gestures and stylised make-up and costumes. This technique takes the Sahṛdaya-Āsvādaka beyond his physical senses of enjoyment into the realm of imagination for realisation of aesthetic experience.

Dramatic representation leading to mental perception by the Āsvādaka is superior to that of physical perception. Bharata says,

divyānām mānasī sṛṣṭir - gṛheṣūpavaneṣu ca |
narāṇām yatnataḥ kāryā lakṣaṇābhihitā kriyā || (N. Ś. II-17)

"The Divine can build houses and gardens in their own minds. The humans will need to resort to physical action (*Kriyā)* to build according to standard requirements."

Again in Chapter XXIII of *Nāṭyaśāstra* Bharata says that, "mental perception by the Āsvādaka is Daivī (Divine) Siddhi as against Mānuṣī (human) Siddhi in which vocal and physical perceptions alone are involved."

Cūḍāmaṇi has been the most popular Sanskrit drama on the Kūṭiyaṭṭam stage of Kerala for several centuries. The text of the drama in full form was not relevant to the Cākyār (except, probably, for Aṅgulīyāṅkam). In fact in Kūṭiyaṭṭam, it is the Aṅka (Act) that is relevant and not the whole drama, since even one act may take several nights to perform. The Aśokavanikāṅkam (the fifth act of *Cūḍāmaṇi*) takes thirteen nights for performance. Rather than the name of the drama being known as *Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi*, the performers and Āsvādakās knew the several acts of the drama by name. Thus the first act was known as Parṇaśālāṅkam, second as Śūrpaṇakhāṅkam, third as Māyāsītāṅkam, fourth as Jaṭāyuvadhāṅkam, fifth as Aśōkavanikāṅkam, sixth as Aṅgulīyāṅkam and seventh as Ezhāmaṅkam. These were the names by which *Āścarya-cūḍāmaṇi* was known.

The principal (Aṅgī) Rasa of the drama was also not very relevant in its use for Kūṭiyāṭṭam presentation. Whether it is Adbhuta or Vīra or Śṛṅgāra, there is no attempt in Kūṭiyāṭṭam to present or build up the principal rasa, or maintain it in its principal position (*Sthāyī*) keeping the others as Aṅga Rasas (constituent Rasas).

Let me now cite a few examples of presentation of *Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi* on the Kūṭiyāṭṭam stage of Kerala.

Case 1

ACT I—PARṆAŚĀLĀṄKAM

In this scene, Lakṣmaṇa has to build a Parṇaśālā (hermitage) for Rāma and Sītā. The site is Pañcavaṭī on the banks of Godāvarī.

The text of the drama is as follows:—

Lakṣmaṇa :—

Jyāghoṣeṇa nirākaromi bhayadān paryantabhājo mṛgān
parṇaissadma samāpayāmi śayanam badhnāmi puṣpacchadaiḥ.
vetrāṇāmupapādayāmi valayairāyāminām viṣṭaram
siñcāmi kṣitimārdrapaṅkajarajoviddhairapām reṇubhiḥ.

(With the twang of my bow-string let me scare away all the fierce animals; let me now make a hermitage of leaves, and a bed of flowers. I will now make a seat for guests with bamboo creepers. Now, I will sprinkle the ground with water, laden with the pollen dust of lotus flowers).

The above action of Lakṣmaṇa building a hermitage is being performed in a forest. How can it be represented on the stage?

The forest-trees, plants, shrubs, creepers, etc., have to be cleared to prepare the site and for use as timber, etc., for building the hermitage. Hence they should be there only in the beginning and not later and a fixed curtain painted as a forest or cut-outs

cannot serve the purpose. Similarly, the wild animals are also to disappear at hearing the twang from Lakṣmaṇa's bow-string. So they have also to disappear during the performance of this scene. While the trees and animals disappear, a new thing, a hermitage has to come into existence on the stage, in gradual stages.

None of these can be represented by the stage outfits, because they have to come and go. So in Kūṭiyāṭṭam, these are transformed into a symbolical medium and communicated to the Āsvādaka's realm of imagination through gestures (Āṅgika Abhinaya) duly supported by tāla vādyas (rhythmic drumming).

Let us see how this is actually done in Kūṭiyāṭṭam.

Lakṣmaṇa enters and after the initial ritualistic movements, makes obeisance to Rāma (imagined to be there) and as if listening to Rāma, enacts by gestures—"Brother, what did you say? That a Parṇaśālā should be made! Is that, what you said? All right, I shall do it presently". He again makes obeisance as if to Rāma and then moving around on the stage with stylistic steps (indicating his journey to the forest) turns round and holding the bow and arrow, takes a leaf and stands right behind the lamp on the stage (to indicate that he has reached the forest). Then he takes a look around and says (by gestures) "Now, let me do it."

He then tightens his waistband, his hair-knot, holds the bow in position, runs his fingers along the bow-string, puts the knot at one end of the bow and then plucks the string of the bow, to ensure that it is taut. The beating of the Mizhāvu, during this plucking of the bow-string, makes a continuous sound reaching a crescendo at the end, thus lending auditory support. Now, Lakṣmaṇa says by gesture, "Now, all the fierce animals on the banks of Godāvarī have got frightened at the twang of my bow, and are running away." How?

The actor then enacts an elephant's role. Its stance, its gait, facial expression, the movement of the ears and trunk—all by facial and bodily gestures. The elephant is shown walking calmly, when all of a sudden, it hears the loud twang. Shocked and puzzled, it looks on either side and getting frightened, it flees with faltering steps. Then, the performer takes the role of a lion and enacts the lion's ferocious face, its hungry look searching for its prey, when, all of a sudden, its attention is shattered by the loud sound and it flees. Likewise, he describes the deer and other animals running away in fear. He then switches back to his role as Lakṣmaṇa, expressing satisfaction that the area has been cleared of wild animals. And he says (by gestures) "Now, I will make the hermitage of leaves." How?

He then inspects the trees, makes the choice, feels them, cuts them into logs and pieces, makes rafters, ridges and pillars. He then assembles them and provides roofing and side enclosures with leaves and creepers. "The hermitage is now ready." He says in gestural language.

"Now, I will make a bed of flowers." He looks for flowers, makes the choicest selection from here and there and makes the bed.

"The seats for important guests like Ṛṣis (hermits) have to be made." He collects slender bamboo stalks, straightens them, and bends them suitably, fastens them and makes a couch.

He then brings water. What type of water? Water laden with the pollens of lotus flowers. He describes lotus flowers, then the lotus pond; then the pollens flying from the flowers dropping in the water, providing a coverage. Then he takes that water and sprinkles it on the ground around the hermitage and the floor within.

The stage where the above are performed is absolutely blank except for the traditional lamp in front. The entire scene and operations are presented by gestural action, projecting them to the mental vision of the Āsvādaka, penetrating physical barriers of vision etc. Please note that a single performer takes the different roles of Lakṣmaṇa, the elephant, lion. deer, etc. They all come and go through the gestural movements of the actor. The hermitage also takes shape in the same way.

We can also see how the performer has added a prelude to the scene in which Rāma directs Lakṣmaṇa to make a hermitage; how the performer fills in the several gaps, elongates the text, transforms everything into fluid symbolic gestures, aiming at the mind of the Āsvādaka, passing through his physical senses of vision and hearing.

Case 2

ACT IV—JAṬĀYUVADHĀṄKAM

This scene is illustrative of the expression of vīra rasa and the presentation of the śloka, "Nāham bandhuragātri . . .".

Rāvaṇa, after abducting Sītā, wants to impress her with his powers and convince her of the futility of her attempts to attract attention, to be saved from Rāvaṇa. The text is as follows :—

Rāvaṇa :—

Nāhaṁ bandhuragātri ! bhītiviṣayas te kim mudnā khidyase
trātum tvām sasurāsure tribhuvane ke vā manaḥ kurvate |
m yyasmin paripanthini prakaṭitakrodhāndhadigvāraṇa—
sthūla-vyāyata-danta-koṭikuliśa-vyālīḍhavakṣossthale ||

(O! thou with a charming figure! I am not one to be feared. Why are you worrying unnecessarily? Nobody in the three worlds, either devas or asuras, will dare to come and save you, if they know that they have to deal with me. I am one whose chest is marked by the wounds caused by the Diggajas which were mad with anger).

This is presented by the Cākyār as follows in Kūṭiyāṭṭam :—

He presents the following action, by gestures of the fingers and body and facial expressions supported ably by the effects of rhythm on the Mizhāvu.

"Lo! Thou with the most charming figure! why do you weep! There is no reason why you should look up to me in great fear. Having seen your extraordinary physical beauty, my desire for you became so intense that I could not stand separation from you. I, therefore, abducted you. Your proper place is a king's palace, where you should enjoy the royal pleasures; but I found you suffering in the forest, exposed to the vagaries of weather such as heat, cold and storm, eating the fruits and roots of forest trees and plants in the midst of ferocious forest animals. I therefore took pity on you and decided to take you to my palace to live with me in regal splendour.

Not only that, even if you continue to wail like this, do you think that anyone will come and save you from me? No. Why? Because, when I am here, none in the three worlds, whether they be devas or asuras, will dare to even dream of saving you.

Do you know why? Do you know my reputation for strength? If you do not know, I will tell you. Look at my chest. It is marked with wounds caused by the Aṣṭa Diggajas (the eight divine elephants guarding the universe from the eight directions) who in a frenzy of temper, drove their stout, long curved tusks with ends like hard diamonds into my chest.

How was that? I will tell you, listen. During my Dig-Vijaya (subordinating the whole universe), I was moving with my army of rākṣasas wondering, with great pride, as to whom I should next subdue. (Here he enacts his proud gait, his directing the accompanying army, his overlordship etc.). I saw the Aṣṭa Diggajas." (Here he enacts in detail the role of the Diggajas). (He then reverts to his position as Rāvaṇa and then in gestures says, "All right, now I will challenge them to a fight with me". Then he says by gesture to the Diggajas, "Look here, Diggajas, if you have adequate strength, come and fight with me". Thus he takes the role of the Diggajas and shows one of them standing in peace, with its ears swinging. Then it hears Rāvaṇa's challenge, looks around with surprise and then with anger. Then rolling up its trunk and raising its head with tusks held high, the Diggaja is shown as charging at Rāvaṇa. He shows that the other Diggajas also do the same act. The actor then becomes Rāvaṇa. He puts down the sword and with his clenched fists hits on the head of the elephant, pushes it back, reels sideways, resists its charge with his chest, then holding it by the tusks, rolls it along the ground. The actor then switches back to the role of Diggaja, then showing it as charging towards Rāvaṇa and withdrawing again for another more forceful charge to drive its tusk into the chest of Rāvaṇa. Thus the actor alternately becomes Rāvaṇa and Diggaja until, atlast, he throws it over-board.) "Similarly, I dealt with the other elephants too. The marks on my chest are due to the wounds caused by these Diggajas."

Now, Rāvaṇa tells Sītā, "you must be convinced of my invincible strength. Don't you realise that there is no use in crying?"

This action in the presentation of the spirit of the śloka "Nāham bandhuragātri . . ." in gestures alone, takes nearly one hour. Please note the extent of elaboration, supplementation and transformation of the text of the drama.

Case 3

ACT V—AŚOKAVANIKĀṄKAM

We have seen the Abhinaya in Kūṭiyāṭṭam in respect of a śloka. Let me now give an example of the Abhinaya of a prose dialogue between Citrayodhi, the minister of Rāvaṇa and Rāvaṇa.

The minister (Amātya) Citrayodhi had been summoned by Rāvaṇa and has come to see him. He considers Rāvaṇa's abduction of Sītā as an unworthy act, but does not know how to convey his disapproval to his master. When he arrives, he finds his lord in a contemplative mood, thinking of Sītā, burning with intense love, indicated by his heavy breathing, pale face, irrelevant smile, etc.

The text of the drama (i.e., the prose dialogue which is being enacted) is as below :—

Amātya (minister)—Jayatu Svāmī (Hail, My Lord) !

Rāvaṇa — Kimastyapūrvo vṛttāntaḥ (Is there any fresh news) ?

Amātya — (ātmagatam) Prasannamācaṣṭe devaḥ. (to himself) The lord looks to be in a good mood.
(Prakāśam) Asti Kaulīnam. (openly) There is a talk among the public.

Rāvaṇa — Tiṣṭha. Vālinam hatvā Sugrīvamupāste Rāma iti (I know that Rāma, after killing Vāli, is seeking the mercy of Sugrīva !)

Let us see how this dialogue is presented in Kūṭiyāṭṭam. The scene starts with Rāvaṇa's entry. There is a lot of Abhinaya before the dialogue starts.

Rāvaṇa is seated on the pīṭham (representing his throne). He is in deep thought passing through that stage of "Kāma" known as cintā (contemplation). He then passes on to that stage of love known as "Cittāsaṅga" (mental or imaginary union with the love). The image of the "Ālambana vibhāva" "Sītā" is formed in Rāvaṇa's own mind by a gestural description of the beauty of Sītā by delineating the principal features of female beauty (Female beauty in its outline is presented in Kūṭiyāṭṭam by 'Panchāṅgam' the description of the five principal features of female beauty like hair, eyes, face, breasts and feet. The elaborate description of female beauty is done by "Keśādipādam"—description of every organ of the female in great detail. Both these are gesturally represented. In "Keśādipādam", depending on the nature of the play, one particular part of the body, say hair or eyes may receive much greater attention).

Rāvaṇa now enacts his having become the target of cupid's arrows. He then shows that he is burning with love, and the fire of love is set ablaze by the "Uddīpana Vibhāva" viz., gentle breeze. Consequently he feigns "Mohālasyam" and swoons. He then wakes up from his swoon, and again goes into contemplation, smiling without reason, murmuring meaningless words, etc. Then he imagines that Sītā is close to him, and draws her closer to him, and gently seats her on his lap. He enjoys her beauty (in imagination) from head downwards. He then slowly embraces her. After a few moments of enjoyment in embrace, his hands slowly try to reach her breasts but hesitate; his hand repeats this attempt and finally he gently presses the breasts (of the imaginary Sītā) with his hand. He takes courage and then starts fingering the knot of her Gātrikā (breast cover). He slowly unties the knot—slowly, closely watching the face of (the imaginary) Sītā to see how she reacts to it. He exposes her breasts and caresses them in an ecstatic mood. (This imaginary love making is Cittāsaṅga.)

All this time, Citrayodhi, the Amātya (minister) who had already come at the bidding of Rāvaṇa has been watching his lord. He now makes himself bold, to greet his lord and says (in speech) "Jayatu Svāmī"—Rāvaṇa engrossed in his imaginary love-making with Sītā does not hear him and goes on embracing (the imaginary) Sītā. Citrayodhi again greets Rāvaṇa by saying, "Jayatu Svāmī" in a louder tone. Rāvaṇa in his amorous mood mistakes it as the cooing of a cuckoo in dialogue with its consort, and continues his love-making. Citrayōdhi again says, "Jayatu Svāmī", in a still louder tone. Then Rāvaṇa comes to his senses. He gestures, "This does not sound like the cuckoo. Could it be Citrayodhi, whom I had sent for? Has he come?" He looks up and finding Citrayodhi, he blushes. 'Has he seen any of my gestures?' He thinks for a while and then says to himself by gestures, "Anyway, he has spoiled my mental happiness. Somehow, I must get rid of him soon". Rāvaṇa rubs his eyes, as if he had been having a nap, and regaining his composure, takes a faster majestic look at Citrayodhi and asks him in speech with gesture, "Kimastyapūrvo vṛttāntaḥ" (Is there any fresh news)? Citrayodhi says to himself "Prasannamācaṣṭe devaḥ", (the lord appears to be in a good mood). Rāvaṇa gets impatient and repeatedly asks "Apūrvo vṛttāntaḥ (any extra-ordinary news) Citrayodhin?". To this Citrayodhi replies "Asti" (yes). Rāvaṇa repeatedly asks "Apūrvo vṛttāntaḥ" and continues. "I am asking you for extra-ordinary news. Of course, there are several extra-ordinary things to be said, such as, my lifting the Kailāsa and playing with it like a ball (Here he describes Kailāsa-lifting in brief); then my success in the battle with Indra and conquest of devaloka; my vanquishing Yama etc. There are several such extra-ordinary things. I am not asking you about them. Is there anything important, after I abducted Sītā and brought her here?"

Citrayodhi says with gestures "Asti" (there is). Rāvaṇa's patience has reached its limit. He mockingly ridicules Citrayodhi by saying "Asti, Asti, Asti" and then after a pause, in an angry tone asks "Kimasti" (what is there?). Citrayodhi says "Asti Kaulīnam."

Rāvaṇa is impatient and in his attempt to belittle Rāma says, " Tiṣṭha. Vālinam hatvā Sugrīvamupāste Rāma iti " (Rāma killed Vāli and now he is seeking Sugrīva's mercy. Is it not ?). Then he continues with gestures. " Rāma Killed Vāli. Do you know how he did it ? Did he go straight to Vāli and face him or challenge him to a fight ? No, not at all. When Vāli and Sugrīva were fighting each other, he hid himself behind a tree and shot down Vāli with his arrow, like a coward. Now he is seeking refuge in Sugrīva's camp. How ? Rāma went to Sugrīva, bowed before him and with folded hands told him, " Lord ! You must help me ! you must save me ! you must save me ". And he contemptuously describes Sugrīva—" Who is this Sugrīva ? " He gestures Sugrīva as a mere monkey, jumping from one tree to another. Rāvaṇa then says " Upāste ". When Rāma begs Sugrīva to save him, Sugrīva jumps from one tree to another, Rāma runs after Sugrīva to the second tree and begs " Please save me ". Then Sugrīva jumps to another tree, Rāma runs to that tree and says, " Save me, Save me, Save me ". Then he shows by gestures " A worm ". " This Rāma is only a worm ". He continues the gestures—with his left hand he shows a monkey and says " Sugrīva ", then he shows a worm by his right hand and says " Rāma " and then he brings both hands together, indicating that " a monkey and a worm have joined together to fight me ! " He then roars to show his power.

Just see how four lines in a dialogue have been amplified to nearly one and a half hour's performance on the Kūṭiyāṭṭam stage.

There is the most impressive " Udyāna-Praveśa " of Rāvaṇa, the last night's performance of Aśokavanikāṅkam. Rāvaṇa with his full paraphernalia of costumes, make-up, ornaments and attendants is going to Aśokavanikā to see Sītā in person in a last attempt to win her over. This scene has to be experienced and no amount of literary flourish can convey the relish that the Āsvādaka may experience.

Thus, Kūṭiyaṭṭam is a type of audio-visual presentation of a theme. I say audio-visual, because in gestural representation, the usual element is given enormous support by the tālavādyas consisting of Mizhāvu, Eḍakka, Kuzhithālam. There are also significant representations involving oral discourses of the vidūṣaka running to several sessions, where the literary, philosophical, symbolic and multiple meanings and elucidations are given with examples, anecdotes and witty remarks in support.

The text of a drama provides the theme for presentation. But the performer who is governed by the Āṭṭaprakārams and Kramadīpikās (codes of practice for performance) goes far beyond the text, which serves only as a nucleus. The text is elaborated, augmented, supplemented and communicated through symbolic gestural or stylised oral delivery. The costumes and all acting are stylised and even where the day-to-day affairs are discussed as done by the vidūṣaka, there is a certain element of deviation from our conduct and behaviour in every day life.

Kūṭiyāṭṭam employs Nāṭyadharmī in extreme form. Whether in the make up-and costume, or the speech or the music (the Rāgas in which the ślokas are rendered), the rhythmic support or the gestural representation, they are far from being imitative of ordinary life and behaviour. The medium, though originally adopted for purāṇic themes has also been employed for social dramas like *Mattavilāsam* and *Bhagavadajjukīyam*. But even there, the presentation is very much out of the ordinary.

A New Interpretation of the Mṛcchakaṭika

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The *Mṛcchakaṭika* (*Mṛcch.*), attributed to King Śūdraka, has long been considered one of the most accessible of Indian dramas for Western audiences and has often been compared in its wide range of characters and vignettes with Elizabethan drama (cf. Oliver 1938:9). The detail that the play contains on the life of contemporary society has also made it one of the richest sources for a knowledge of ancient Indian social life. The play is read now for its delightful characters and well-paced turn of events. The efforts of earlier scholars to analyze the play for a specific theme or thread of unity have been forgotten: for example, Windisch's contention that the *Mṛcch.* is a retelling of the Kṛṣṇa legend (1885:447ff.), or Kerbaker's interpretation of it as a Buddhist play (1908:xviff.). It is now generally accepted as a love story hinging on fate for its climax (cf. Devasthali 1951:85 and Bhat 1953:73). This leaves the *Mṛcch.* with the appearance of being a patch-work of vignettes loosely connected and interesting for their own sake rather than as part of an integrated whole with a single unifying theme from beginning to end. Yet, a close reading of the play inevitably suggests that there is an underlying thematic unity. I suggest that the underlying theme of the play is the Buddhist ethic in the form of the Buddhist Act of Compassion as practised by the hero Cārudatta. Cārudatta's mode of conduct throughout is limited but consistent, and it is his ethical position that gives meaning and depth to the view of the demimonde that surrounds him. Cārudatta's limited conduct is the key to the interpretation and, therefore, will be examined first.

To anyone who has read the play, Cārudatta's poverty is obviously the result of his consistent and constant charity. His reputation for charity is stated often and regularly in standard poetic terms; the *Viṭa* characterizes him first:

so' smadvidhānāṃ praṇayaiḥ kṛśīkṛto
na tena kaścidvibhavairvimānitaḥ |
nidāghakāleṣviva sodako hrado
nṛṇāṃ sa tṛṣṇāmapanīya śuṣkavān || (1.46)

He was made poor by requests from my sort; he
slighted no one with his money. Like a pool
with water in the hot season, he has dried up
quenching men's thirst.

Cārudatta is the one whose wealth is accessible to all; he denies no one. Even the thief Śarvilaka speaks of him as a benefactor:

chāyārthaṃ grīṣmasaṃtapto yāmevāhaṃ samāśritaḥ |
ajānatā mayā saiva patraiḥ śākhā viyojitā || (4.18)

The very same branch that I, miserable from the heat, took to for shade has lost its leaves because of me in my ignorance.

Candanaka later describes Cārudatta in the standard terms of perfect virtue and one who aids the wretched :

ko taṃ guṇāravindaṃ śīlamiaṅkaṃ jaṇo ṇa jāṇādi |
āvaṇṇadukkhamokkhaṃ causāarasāraaṃ raaṇam || (6.13)

Who does not know this lotus of virtue, a man of character, the rescue for those who have become miserable, a jewel that is the essence of the four oceans ?

The judge in Act 9 also describes Cārudatta's well-established reputation for charity :

kṛtvā samudramudakocchrayamātraśeṣaṃ
dattāni yena hi dhanānyanapekṣitāni | (9.22ab)

Who, having left the ocean with only the swelling water, gave treasures without a second thought, . . .

Again, the emphasis is on Cārudatta's generosity with no concern for himself. These characters have emphasized Cārudatta's charity in terms of charity to individuals; Maitreya, however, indicates in detail the fuller extent of his friend's generosity :

bho bho ajjā, jeṇa dāva puraṭṭhāvaṇa-
vihārārāmadeulataḍāgakūvajūvehiṃ
alaṃkidā ṇaarī ujjaiṇī . . . (9.30.10)

O Sirs, Gentlemen, who ornamented the city of Ujjayinī with palaces, vihāras, pleasure gardens, temples, ponds, wells, and sacrificial posts . . .

Cārudatta's reputation is based on a constant series of charitable acts to both individuals and what we would term institutions and the public at large. Charity is the constant element in his conduct.

The grand acts of charity Cārudatta was once capable of contrast sharply with what his poverty now allows him. Though less impressive in terms of worth, his generosity becomes a constant feature of his interaction with others. First is his gift of a cloak to Karṇapūraka, Vasantasenī's servant, for bringing under control a mad elephant (2.20.4ff.) ; second is his gift of an upper garment to the servant who brings him the good news of Vasantasenā's arrival at his home (5.11.104-6) ; third is his attempted gift of a ring to the servant who informs him through Maitreya that the jewels previously deposited with him

but later stolen have been returned to Vasantasenā (he discovers to his embarrassment that he no longer has a ring to give) (5.39.16-18); last is his attempt to return to Vasantasenā the jewels that she had given to his son Rohasena (9.29.4-5).

Two other acts by Cārudatta can be interpreted as part of his commitment to charity and to responding to the suffering of others as suggested in Candanaka's description of him (6.13). Cārudatta accepts a deposit of jewelry from Vasantasenā, which is subsequently stolen. When he first learns that a thief has broken into his home, he is disturbed that the thief must have departed empty-handed after entertaining high hopes prompted by the facade of the once-great house (3.23). Maitreya states the point exactly: *bho, kadhaṃ taṃ jjeva corahadaaṃ aṇusocasi* | (3.23.2) 'Sir, do you sympathize with that wretched thief?' Cārudatta's concern for the thief is the same concern he has for a suppliant. When he is informed that the jewels are missing (but before he is reminded that they were a deposit), he is delighted that they have been taken *yadasau kṛtārtho gataḥ* | (3.23.21) 'because he (the thief) went away satisfied.' Cārudatta cannot bear that even a thief should be denied whatever wealth he, Cārudatta, has to offer. In this incident there is the clear statement that no one who approaches Cārudatta should depart empty-handed.

The jewels were a deposit stolen by a thief and, therefore, Cārudatta is not liable for the loss (3.23 26). This is the standard rule of Hindu law, which Maitreya alludes to (cf. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* 2.66 and *Nāradasmṛti* 2.12). Nevertheless, Cārudatta turns this situation into an opportunity to exercise his charity and declares that he will repay the loss, even by begging if necessary (3.26). The generosity of Cārudatta's wife in supplying him with a pearl necklace resolves the problem of repayment, but Cārudatta continues to take the onus of the thief's work onto himself. He directs Maitreya to tell Vasantasenā that the loss of her jewels was due to his gambling (3.28.1-3), thus protecting anyone else from suspicion. Cārudatta turns the theft of a deposit into an opportunity to extend his charity to both Vasantasenā and the unknown thief.

When Maitreya asserts later in Act 5 that Vasantasenā is coming to visit only to extract greater compensation from Cārudatta, the latter replies only *parituṣṭā yāsyati* / (5.11.114) 'she will depart satisfied.' This statement could easily be reformulated into the general code of conduct that Cārudatta lives by: 'no suppliant will depart dissatisfied.'

Cārudatta's commitment to acting charitably toward all suppliants in every circumstance has the obvious consequences of poverty. He is poor, but more than this he is acutely aware of the consequences of poverty, the misery and humiliation his suppliants underwent, which he undoubtedly alleviated to some degree. Through his charity he takes on the miseries of the poor: the offerings he now makes are pitiful compared to what he could once offer (1.9); he suffers from anxiety, enmity, loss of friends (1.15), a decline in the appearance of his character, and a bias against the poor man (1.36); he is shunned, unwelcome at the home of the rich on festive occasions, and embarrassed by his poor clothing (1.37). He cannot acknowledge his love for Vasantasenā, his poverty forbidding

it (1.55). His poverty naturally entails a doubt about his good word: a poor man accepting charitably to guard a deposit that is then stolen is certainly open to suspicion (3.24). And to protect a thief he must accept the onus of ostensible irresponsibility in letting a deposit be mistakenly lost in gambling (3.28.1-3).

The suffering from poverty that Cārudatta endures leads him to numerous brief analyses of poverty and suffering in this world. Many of them can be interpreted as personal statements based on his own experience, but as is more often the case in Sanskrit drama they represent a general wisdom grasped by all men who have understood the suffering in life around them. In Act 1 Cārudatta's statements on suffering begin simply:

sukhaṃ hi duḥkhānyanubhūya śobhate
ghanāndhakāreṣviva dīpadarśanam |
sukhāt tu yo yāti naro daridratāṃ
dhṛtaḥ śarīreṇa mṛtaḥ sa jīvati || (1.10)

Happiness coming after miseries shines like the sight of a lamp in the thick darkness. The man who goes from happiness to poverty, borne by his body, dead he lives on.

For the poor man, life is no more than a living death, and indeed Cārudatta says that death is preferrable to poverty because the former entails only a brief pain while the latter is an unending misery (1.11). In a subsequent verse there is the kind of analysis of poverty that is often used as a format in other lines of enquiry:

dāridryāddhriyameti hrīparigataḥ prabhraśyate tejaso
nistejāḥ paribhūyate paribhavānnirvedamāpadyate |
nirviṇṇaḥ śucameti śokapihito buddhyā parityajyate
nirbuddhiḥ kṣayametyaho nidhanatā sarvāpadāmāspadam || (1.14)

From poverty he falls to shame; overcome with shame he is deprived of dignity. Without dignity he is disgraced. From disgrace he falls to despair. Despondent, he goes to sorrow. Filled with sorrow he is abandoned by intelligence. Without intelligence he perishes. So poverty is the root of all distress.

The slow, step by step process by which a man's suffering beginning with poverty leads to his final demise is analysed, and poverty is identified as the source of all misery and all forms of distress. Cārudatta, through observation of at least his own circumstances, has identified the source of all distress in the world, and were he examining this suffering in other creatures he could easily reach the conclusion that man must allay suffering from poverty through charity. When Cārudatta characterizes poverty as the sixth great sin (1.37), he epitomizes the suffering of the poor as the greatest that a man can undergo. Cārudatta has willingly accepted this suffering as the consequence of generosity. It is significant that

nowhere in the play does he regret his poverty or that his poverty is due to charity. He is disturbed only that his poverty prevents guests from coming to his home (1.12) and that good friends turn away because of poverty (1.36). His repeated descriptions of the suffering of a poor man are to him truths that he has personally experienced, observations on what is the misery of life, not in any sense experiences that he regrets. It is the truth of the misery of the poor man that obsesses him, not that he himself is poor or poor by his own acts.

Cārudatta's life revolves around a personal commitment to charity; this is the sum total of his actions in the play up to Act 7. His fiscal charity, is a prelude to a far greater charity, the granting of refuge and protection to another even if it means physical danger or death. That he regards even his body as something to be given for another is asserted by the *Saṃvāhaka*, his former employee, to Vasantasenā :

> *je tāliśe piadaṃśaṇe piavādī, daia ṇa kettedi,*
> *avakidaṃ viśumaledi | kiṃ bahuṇā palanteṇa |*
> *dakkhiṇadāe palakelaaṃ via attāṇaaṃ avagacchadi,*
> *śalaṇāgaavacchale a* | (2.14.31-33)
>
> Such a one who is handsome, kindly spoken, who after
> giving doesn't mention it, who forgets an offense.
> Enough of so much talk. He sincerely regarded his
> body as another's and is compassionate to one
> seeking refuge.

Cārudatta's compassion to those seeking refuge is apparently as well known as his charity; it is certainly known to Āryaka, nephew of King Pālaka and contender for the throne (7.3.5). When Cārudatta and Āryaka first face each other, the latter asks for refuge with the standard formula: *śaraṇāgato gopālaprakṛtirāryako'smi* / (7.5.2) 'I, Āryaka, descendant of Gopāla, have come for refuge.' It is often suggested that Cārudatta appears to hesitate before replying with the obligatory *na bhayam* 'have no fear' or something similar and unnecessarily inquires after more details to identify Āryaka (7.5.3). I suggest rather that Cārudatta is only making certain of the magnitude of the opportunity for charity that now confronts him. Cārudatta's response to Āryaka indicates a full awareness of the possible consequences ensuing upon granting refuge to Āryaka and the certain willingness to face them :

> *vidhinaivopanītastvaṃ cakṣurviṣayamāgataḥ* |
> *api prāṇānahaṃ jahyāṃ na tu tvāṃ śaraṇāgatam* || (7.6)
>
> Brought by fate alone you have come within sight.
> I would rather abandon my life than you who have
> come for refuge.

The gift of one's life is the supreme act of charity and is the natural sequence to Cārudatta's earlier fiscal charity. Cārudatta actively assists Āryaka by sending him off to safety in his carriage (7.6.17-20), and thus begins his promised protection to Āryaka.

When Āryaka departs, Cārudatta undergoes a psychological change: having sent Āryaka to safety, Cārudatta now assumes the position of one being pursued and persecuted. He literally takes on first the psychic and later the physical suffering due to Āryaka for his revolutionary activities. Cārudatta's fear develops as soon as Āryaka departs:

kṛtvaivaṃ manujapatermahadvyalīkaṃ
sthātuṃ hi kṣaṇamapi na praśastamasmin |
maitreya kṣipa nigaḍaṃ purāṇakūpe
paśyeyuḥ kṣitipatayo hi cāradṛṣṭyā || (7.8)

Having just committed a great offense against the king it's not wise to stay here a minute more. Maitreya, throw the shackle into the old well. Kings can see through the eyes of spies.

The fear is reiterated when Cārudatta re-enters in Act 9, summoned to court: now he fears that the king has learned of his aid to Āryaka (9.8-9). His adoption of Āryaka's suffering leaves him vulnerable to making the assumption that he is the litigant in a court case when he is summoned only to supply information about Vasantasenā (9.18.3). Because he did not encounter her in the park, he cannot supply any information nor counter the growing suspicions of the court: his guarantee of protection to Āryaka enforces his silence. This plus the general bias against the poor man combine to leave him with no defence but his character (9.28). Convicted of the murder of Vasantasenā, he accepts the death sentence and the disgrace, which are the same as would be due to him for protecting Āryaka if that were known.

Cārudatta observes the misery visited upon the convicted criminal on his way to his execution:

amī hi vastrāntaniruddhavaktrāḥ prayānti me dūrataraṃ vayasyāḥ |
paro'pi bandhuḥ samasaṃsthitasya mitraṃ na kaścidviṣamasthitasya ||
(10.16)

These women friends, their faces hidden by the ends of their garments, shy away from me. Even an enemy is a kinsman to one in good circumstances: no one is a friend to one in trouble.

Throughout Act 10, as Cārudatta is led to his execution, he offers no apology for his actions and not once alludes to his protection of Āryaka, which in fact continues through his silence. His position is made clear in two verses:

na bhīto maraṇādasmi kevalaṃ dūṣitaṃ yaśaḥ |
viśuddhasya hi me mṛtyuḥ putrajanmasamo bhavet || (10.27)

anyacca—

tenāsmyakṛtavaireṇa kṣudreṇātyalpabuddhinā |
śareṇeva viṣāktena dūṣitenāpi dūṣitaḥ || (10.28)

> I am not afraid of death, only corrupted fame.
> Death for me, purified, is like the birth of a son.
> and further:
> I am defiled even by one himself defiled, a wicked
> man of little intelligence, hating without reason,
> like an arrow smeared with poison.

For the protection of Āryaka, Cārudatta is willing to suffer death and defamation, but not necessarily defamation for something he would not do. He has always guarded his character and preserved that above all else (cf. 3.26). Though willing to accept death, he is unwilling to accept the loss of his reputation on the grounds of murdering Vasantasenā. Were he to allow people to believe him capable of murder, his earlier mode of conduct in the practice of charity would be discredited and suspect.

Cārudatta lives a life that can only be characterized as part of the Indian tradition of commitment to duty and in Cārudatta's case that duty can only be defined as charity to and the protection of suffering creatures. Cārudatta's commitment to charity can be nothing else but the perfect exercise of the Buddhist virtue of charity (*dāna*), the first of the Ten Perfections. Charity motivated by compassion for the suffering and leading ultimately to the gift of one's life for the protection of another is the mode of life adhered to by Cārudatta. By recognizing this content in his life the climax of the play can be better understood and appreciated.

As Act 10 begins, Cārudatta emphasizes his purity in terms of the preliminaries usually found preceding a religious rite. The references to tears (water), flowers, and myrrh are all explicit statements on his ritual purity:

> *nayanasalilasiktaṃ pāṃśurūkṣīkṛtāṅgaṃ*
> *pitṛvanasumanobhirveṣṭitaṃ me śarīram* |
> *virasamiha raṭanto raktagandhānuliptaṃ*
> *balimiva paribhoktuṃ vāyasāstarkayanti* || (10.3)
>
> The grotesquely shrieking crows regard my body,
> sprinkled with tears, my limbs stiffened by the
> dirt, dressed with the flowers of the cemetery,
> smeared with myrrh, as an offering to be enjoyed.

The same sense is repeated:

> *sarvagātreṣu vinyastai raktacandanahastakaiḥ* |
> *piṣṭacūrṇāvakīrṇaśca puruṣo 'haṃ paśūkṛtaḥ* || (10.5)
>
> Covered with crushed powder, with handfuls of red
> sandal put on all my limbs, I, a man, have become
> a sacrificial animal.

In a later verse he again emphasizes the wearing of a garland as he goes to execution like a goat to the sacrifice (10.21). These verses emphasize Cārudatta's ritual purity, first

in the preliminaries of being bathed (tears), garlanded, and smeared with fragrant powders, and second in the comparisons to sacrificial animals. Cārudatta is indeed prepared for a ritual, ostensibly the sacrifice of his life for Āryaka's, but a later verse insists on a different purpose for this ritual purity.

At the moment when Cārudatta is told to face death, he makes a statement :

prabhavati yadi dharmo dūṣitasyāpi me 'dya
prabalapuruṣavākyairbhāgyadoṣāt kathaṃcit |
surapatibhavanasthā yatra tatra sthitā vā
vyapanayatu kalaṅkaṃ svasvabhāvena saiva || (10.34)

If *dharma* be master of me even now, seemingly corrupted
somehow by an accusation of fate through the statements
of a destructive man, she (Vasantasenā) alone, abiding in the abode of
the gods or wherever she is, must remove the stain by
her own inherent nature.

This is nothing else but an Act of Truth (*satyakriyā/ saccakiriyā), and contains all the requisite elements. First, Cārudatta asserts that *dharma* has been his rule of conduct and still is despite present appearances. He has never complained of the consequences of charity or granting refuge, and does not do so now; his commitment is still to his *dharma*, which must be defined as the mode of life he has practised throughout the play, that is, the practice of charity and granting refuge. Second, on the basis of the truth asserted in the first half of the verse, he demands that Vasantasenā alone cleanse him of the taint he now bears for her murder. The verb is in the standard form for an Act of Truth—3rd p. sg. active imperative. This is not a wish or a request: it is clearly a command. Third, Vasantasenā must appear according to her nature and that is the nature of the mortal, a living being among living beings. She does indeed enter soon after (10.35.23). Fourth, as is to be expected in a Buddhist form of the Act, no divine agency is invoked, no power greater than Cārudatta's devotion to *dharma* alluded to (cf. Wayman 1968: 368). Fifth, Cārudatta does not in any sense regret any part of his action for Āryaka, nor his devotion to charity. He does not object to death or execution, but only to his unjustly destroyed reputation. He resists only the loss of his character to the extent that it implies his failure to perform his *dharma*. Vasantasenā is called to attest to his unswerving devotion to this *dharma*. In essence, Cārudatta performs an Act of Truth based on his perfect adherence to the practice of charity and of alleviating the suffering of others.

Other aspects of the scene confirm the pivotal nature of this verse (10.34). Throughout Acts 7, 9, and 10 up to the 'truth' statement, Cārudatta has experienced several inauspicious omens, but it is not until after he has asserted his purity and commanded Vasantasenā to purify his reputation that another omen signals a changed fate. As one of the *Caṇḍālas* prepares to save him the misery of impalement by a swift death from his sword, the sword falls from his hands (10.35.63-64). The *Caṇḍāla* is quick to grasp the meaning of this (10.36.1). It is only after this that Vasantasenā and the monk, having entered earlier, arrive at the execution ground.

The preceding analysis of Cārudatta's mode of life, which culminates in an Act of Truth, suggests obvious parallels with other literary charcters such as the famous King Śibi and with the mode of life characterized as the Buddhist Act of Compassion. Weiler (1962) has defined the Buddhist Act of Compassion as a complex of tenets and actions based on the knowledge that all life is suffering and on the Buddhist ideal of charity to alleviate that suffering: "This Buddhist ideal of charity was invariably motivated by compassion; one suffered because of the Truth that all life suffers. As a consequence of the recognition of this fact, man is moved by compassion and cannot be deterred from charity" (245). The Buddhist Act of Compassion, therefore, is a commitment to assume the suffering of others, even physical suffering including death; it is the charity of offering all that one has, from mere wealth to one's life (243). And on its most recognizable feature, Weiler explains: "The endurance of pain was not merely an intellectual acceptance of the first Aryan Truth; the asseveration of truth enabled one to perform an Act of Truth" (239). It is Cārudatta's Act of Truth that forces upon the audience a recognition of Cārudatta's ethical position.

As analyzed by Weiler, the Buddhist Act of Compassion has five components: (1) a vow or dedication, (2) the granting of protection or refuge (*śaraṇa*), (3) suffering (*duḥkha*) on the part of both parties, (4) meditation on suffering and (5) charity (*dāna*) (239). The *Mṛcch.* conforms to this analysis in three categories: Cārudatta indeed grants refuge (2), endures suffering and alleviates the suffering of others (3), and practices charity (5). Components 1 and 4, however, are not distinct in the play and are, in chronological order, the earliest ones. Meditation on the suffering of the world leads to compassion and to charity as the expression of compassion; on the basis of the knowledge that all life is suffering one formulates a vow to alleviate that suffering through charity and refuge (243). All that we know of Cārudatta begins with his charity and subsumes the formulation of a vow prompted by meditation on the truth that all life is suffering. We can only speculate that in Cārudatta's Truth Act is a reference to his vow or dedication to *dharma*, and that this may allude to the Buddhist *dhamma* or law of the Buddha specifically in terms of compassion.

Cārudatta's practice of charity (*dāna*), granting of refuge (*śaraṇa*), and suffering (*duḥkha*) have been documented and examined above. The test of the perfection of his commitment to what is defined as his *dharma* is his Act of Truth. Burlingame (1917) defined the Truth Act simply as "a formal declaration of fact, accompanied by a command or resolution or prayer that the purpose of the agent shall be accomplished" (429). Further, it is not any statement of fact, but a very specific kind of truth, as explained by Brown (1963):

> . . . the basis for the effectiveness of the truth declaration lies in the perfection with which the person making the declaration performs his personal duty in the cosmos. Any one who performs his duty with absolute perfection has such an act. He has become one with the cosmos and his will and the cosmic operation coincide (8).

Thus a man who performs his duty perfectly is in harmony with the cosmos and can command whatever he wants. And as Brown (1968) later points out, the first of the Ten Perfections of Buddhism, *dāna,* is often the basis for an Act of Truth in Buddhist literature (175). It is Cārudatta's perfection of this virtue that provides the basis for his Act of Truth.

Burlingame (1917) also pointed out that the Truth Act is "performed with scrupulous attention to preliminary details and accompanying ceremonies" (432), which are the usual preliminaries to a ceremonial rite. We have already seen these preliminaries emphasized at the beginning of Act 10, when Cārudatta repeatedly describes himself as purified and prepared like a sacrificial offering.

Cārudatta's conduct throughout the play demonstrates the Buddhist Act of Compassion, and the proof of the perfection of his commitment to this *dharma* is seen in his successful Act of Truth. The *Mṛcch.* undoubtedly bears a Buddhist cast as Kerbaker rightly suspected, but the subtlety with which the Buddhist Act of Compassion is presented has obscured it for later audiences. The position of the hero is not presented in the standard mode of a one-dimensional hero playing out a stereotyped role. Rather we have a simplified view of a man committed to charity, living in a world of rogues, courtesans, and others who are among the most realistic characters Sanskrit drama has to offer. Cārudatta is not the hero of a didactic tale composed by Buddhist monks interested more in the philosophy than in the telling of the story, but rather the center of a picaresque drama in which his actions must be lived as those of a man who has fallen to the demimonde.

The consistency of Cārudatta's conduct and the ethical position it advocates for all men supplies the unifying theme through which all other scenes and aspects of the drama must be viewed. Other characters and modes of action serve as either foils or complements to Cārudatta and hence reinforce the subtle ethical argument of the play. The *Mṛcch.* presents through Cārudatta the ethical position of Buddhism in the full flower of its practice, but a brief scene in Act 6 answers the question of how the ethical position might have evolved through ordinary experience before being refined into a dogma.

In Act 6 occurs a brief scene between Vasantasenā, Rohasena, and Radanikā from which the play takes its name. Vasantasenā is introduced to little Rohasena, Cārudatta's son, who is crying over the loss of a playmate's golden cart. Vasantasenā is moved to pity by the child's sorrow and gives him her jewels. The child at first rejects them because she is crying. but later accepts them when she stops (6.0.45-98). The scene is an illustration of suffering moving one to charity, but also charity without misgivings. Rohasena's childish anguish over not having a golden cart like his playmate's is a gentle statement on the naivete leading to attachment, desire, and sorrow. Only the wiser Vasantasenā can see the foolishness in the child's attachment and feel compassion for his sorrow, which leads to charity to alleviate his suffering. The scene is a simple paradigm of how one is moved to charity and is a substitute for the moment of awakening that Cārudatta must have experienced before he undertook to practise charity and that

is not recorded in the play. Vasantasenā's encounter with Rohasena supplements Cārudatta's actions.

In other instances certain characters by their actions underscore Cārudatta's perfection in carrying out his guarantee of protection. In the second act, Vasantasenā as a matter of course grants refuge to the *Saṃvāhaka* fleeing the gamesmaster and his assistant (2.13.52-53), which, after some hesitation, entails no more than the giving of a bracelet to release the suppliant from his gambling debt. In Act 6, Candanaka also as a matter of course grants refuge to the fleeing Āryaka (6.17.3-5), though the latter feels it necessary to remind him of the responsibility that granting refuge entails :

> *tyajati kila taṃ jayaśrīrjahati ca mitrāṇi bandhuvargaśca |*
> *bhavati ca sadopahāsyo yaḥ khalu śaraṇāgataṃ tyajati ||* (6.18)
>
> The Goddess of Wealth abandons him, and friends and
> slaves leave, and always is he derided who abandons
> one who comes for refuge.

Candanaka does indeed weigh the remarkable situation in which 'the bird frightened by the hawk has fallen into the hands of the fowler' (6.18.1), and finally concludes that he must honor his guarantee of protection (6.18.1-6.19). The price is high, for distracting his fellow guard from inspecting the carriage where Āryaka is concealed involves a criminal offence (6.27.5). Candanaka finally gives his sword to Āryaka before sending him safely on his way (6.23.16-19) and then joins his friend Śarvilaka and the revolution (6.27.3-6). Candanaka is not called upon to sacrifice his life for Āryaka and escapes with relatively little cost to himself. The greatest contrast to Cārudatta's response to a request for refuge, however, is the *Viṭa's* response to Vasantasenā's request for protection from the *Śakāra*. When Vasantasenā discovers she has arrived in the park only to confront the *Śakāra*, she asks his companion the *Viṭa* for refuge (8.17.3), which he automatically grants with the customary *na bhetavyam* (8.17.4). He then attempts to distract the *Śakāra* from discovering her, but to no avail, and finally announces that she is in fact in the carriage and has come to see the *Śakāra* (8.17.26). Even after the *Śakāra* has indicated his intent by trying to persuade both his servant and companion to murder Vasantasenā. the *Viṭa* later entrusts her to the *Śakāra* as a deposit (*nyāsa*) (8.30.6) before he departs in search of the now missing servant. The failure of the *Viṭa* to protect Vasantasenā after her repeated requests for refuge is an obvious foil to Cārudatta's protection of Āryaka, which was initiated in the same park. Each character, Vasantasenā, Candanaka and the *Viṭa*, responded without hesitation when asked for refuge, but only Cārudatta, who did appear to hesitate, carried out his guarantee of protection to its farthest consequence.

Many characters apparently recognize the same virtues as Cārudatta, but none is capable of the same single-minded devotion to them ; none is prepared to sacrifice to the same degree as Cārudatta, and hence Cārudatta repeatedly overshadows all their actions by his quiet and unregretted practice of charity and granting of refuge.

Other material in the play further clarifies how Cārudatta's ethical position is to be perceived. By the time of the composition of the play Buddhism had already become an established force in the life of India, had threatened Hinduism, and had developed complex systems of ideology and regulations. Buddhism had become an institution. The evidence for this is found in the obvious Buddhist material conveyed by the *Saṃvāhaka,* who after suffering miserably from an addiction to gambling converts to Buddhism and becomes a monk. Immediately after he announces his intent to Vasantasenā and departs, he is embroiled with a mad elephant, which is finally brought under control by Karṇapūraka, Vasantasenā's servant (2.16.25ff.). It is easy to see here an allusion to the tale of the Buddha taming the mad elephant (cf. *Vinaya Piṭaka, Culla Vagga* 7.3.11-12), but it also implies a parody of those who imitate the Buddha's actions without grasping the principles motivating them. In Act 8, the *Saṃvāhaka* recites the tenets of Buddhism, but fails in his encounter with the *Śakāra* and must escape at the first opportunity (8.1ff.). In both instances the letter of Buddhism in the form of the monk fails to carry the individual to the same level of excellence attained by Cārudatta. The characterization of Cārudatta as a Brahmaṇa merchant with specific qualities of character must be an intentional allusion to the Buddhist definition of the Brāhmaṇa as a man so characterized by his virtue rather than by his birth. Cārudatta is the obvious representation of the spirit of the law of the Buddha in contrast with the *Saṃvāhaka*, who has grasped only the letter of the law.

The setting of the play, during the time of Pālaka, younger brother of Gopāla who is the father of Āryaka (this is the bare information given to the audience in the middle of the second act to introduce the sub-plot [2.13.44]), must also be integral to the author's purpose. To the author's contemporaries the names of Gopāla and Pālaka could only refer to the two sons of King Pradyota Mahāsena, a contemporary of the Buddha and King Udayana and better known as the father of Vāsavadattā, who married the famous Udayana (cf. *KSS* 12.73-79; Oliver 1938: 244-50; Adval 1970). Nothing more is needed than the mention of the two brothers to evoke the time of the Buddha and the legends surrounding his life and teaching. The author has further refined this information to suggest more universal characters. The confusion over the name of Gopāla's son (Āryaka) in the later literature allows the author to choose a name of greater nuance: Āryaka is the noble man, the honorable one challenging the harsh protector and oppressor Pālaka. There is undoubtedly a play on the meanings of these names beyond their designation of assumed historical personages.

Lest anyone think that the play is only a polemic within Buddhism, the author has expanded his view of institutions and practices to include the non-Buddhist. The passing reference to ascetic postures made by Darduraka contains a criticism against misguided beliefs and practices:

pādenaikena gagane dvitīyena ca bhūtale |
tiṣṭhāmyullambitastāvadyāvattiṣṭhati bhāskaraḥ || (2.11)

With one foot in heaven and the second on earth
I stand suspended as long as the sun shines.

This could refer to either a Hindu or a Jain ascetic and satirizes the extremes often chosen by people in a futile attempt to achieve release; the contrast, of course, is with people who find enlightenment through Buddhism.

Finally, there is the mass of material drawn from the *Dharmaśāstras* by which Cārudatta is falsely tried and convicted of Vasantasenā's murder. The demonstration of the failure of the *Dharmaśāstra* system of law and procedure to ascertain the truth in the case of a man like Cārudatta suggests that the purpose of the play is a polemic against institutionalism in any form in favour of the deeper values of Buddhism as embodied in a man like Cārudatta. Cārudatta lives the principles of compassion and charity to all creatures, representing "the inculcation of that devotion to man which leads to self-sacrifice" and which Hopkins calls the "crowning glory of Buddhism" (1968: 165-66).

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Svarṇamukta-Saṁvada (or—Vivada)—
A Unique Drama

S. S. JANAKI

Sanskrit language, as well as the form and content of its literature, would appear to have generally kept up their old set of norm and traditional patterns. However, a close analysis of its long history and the rich and varied growth of its literature, disclose the change it underwent owing to the local and foreign influences. Even in the daya of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* and the subsequent period of Kohala, Abhinavagupta aud Dhanañjaya, the types of Rūpaka or dramatic presentation reveal a twin tendency of diversification and disappearance. While new types like Nāṭikā, Saṭṭaka and Toṭaka came up, some of the old forms—like the type of Vīthī performed by a single person (*eka-hārya*), Aṅka or Utsṛṣṭikāṅka full of pathetic bewailings etc., are known only through their definition (*lakṣaṇa*); no actual ancient specimen of these is known. This twin tendency has continued till the present day.

Besides the Rūpakas and Uparūpakas as defined in dramaturgical treatises, there arose amongst drama-writers, a desire to put across religious truths through the powerful medium of dramatic representati on. The starting point in this direction was made by the famous logician-poet Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in the 10th century through his *Āgama-ḍambara*[1] or *Ṣaṇmata Nāṭaka*. In this unique play the author has presented the various schools of philosophy as they prevailed in his times like Bauddha, Jaina, Cārvāka, Mīmāmsā, Nyāya-cum-Śaiva, Āgama (chiefly Pāñcarātra) and the depraved sects of Śaiva and Nīlāmbara. Ultimately the author shows how these various schools only establish the One Supreme Being.

Following the *Āgamaḍambara* the allegorical play *Prabodhacandrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa-miśra (11th cent. A.D.) appeared and in its wake came up a long series of imitations.[2]

From ancient times till the present day many secular themes have been dealt with in many dramas, small and big. But the *Svarṇamuktā-saṁvāda* (or—*Vivāda*) is a unique playlet employing metals like Gold and Silver, and gems like Pearl, Diamond

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[1] Ed. Dr. V. Raghavan and Dr. Anantalal Thakur, Mithila Research Institute, Darbhanga, 1964. For a detailed article on this work by Dr. V. Raghavan, see the *Samskrita Ranga Annual* Vol. III, 1962. This play was successfully presented by the members of the Samskrita Ranga at Madras in 1964.

[2] See Dr. V. Raghavan, *The Number of Rasas* (III Ed.), pp. 41-6, for details of more than 40 imitations of *Prabodhacandrodaya*.

and Coral as the chief characters. It has been composed by Maheśa Paṇḍita, a Brahman-resident of Śrīnagar. In and through the play, a ruler Balabhadra, also called Sāhi Bahadūr, is mentioned and he is the only one human character occurring in the play. It has been printed in Kāvyetihāsasaṅgraha, pp. 171-9, which is a rare collection not easily available these days even in well known Libraries in India. Manuscripts of the work are also available in Bombay University (No. 23 of G. V. Devasthali's Catalogue. Vol. II), London (No. 4202, I. O. Library), Mysore, and Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal. In these catalogues the patron in the drama has been identified with Bahadur Shāha (1526-37) of Gujarat. The Mss. at Bombay and Bengal, bear the date of the 17th cent. A.D. The present study is based on the printed edition as available at the British Museum, London and I.O.Ms. of the text.

As indicated in the title the main theme is the dispute over the relative greatness and importance between Gold and Pearl, who are both patronised at the court of Balabhadra in Śrīnagarī near the Himalayas—

अस्ति स्वस्तिमती समस्तनगरीसौन्दर्यपूर्णा पुरी
ख्याता श्रीनगरी गरीयसि गुणैर्गौरीगुरोः पर्वते ।
यत्र स्वर्णमयी सभासु सततं मुक्तामयी च श्रियौ
सेवेते बलभद्रदेवचरणावन्योन्यसंस्पर्धया ॥

Enter first *Svarṇa* angrily looking all round at the various golden ornaments worn by the audience on the different parts of their body—इतस्ततः सभ्यकरकणाङ्गुलीष्ववलोक्य सक्रोधम्-—It boasts that its very presence contributes to the all round materialistic prosperity of its patron and his residence—like missiles, weapons, elephants, horses, dress and decoration, and all sorts of enjoyment from different countries available in plenty.

यत्राहं निवसामि तत्र गुणिनः शस्त्रं च शास्त्रं तथा
वस्त्रं चापि विचित्रवस्तु सुभगा नागास्तुरङ्गा अपि ।
नानादेशसमागताः सुचरिताः सन्तः कियन्तो न वा
भक्ष्य भोज्यमपीह वस्तु सकलं नानाविधं विद्यते ॥

Besides material riches gold is able to provide for all dhārmic activities in the house of its patron—*iṣṭāpūrta*, gifts of varied types including weighing against gold, sacrifices like Soma, Aśvamedha etc.

गेहे यस्य वसामि तत्र विविधा वापीतडागादयो
धर्मः शर्मकरस्तनोति सतुलादानादि-दानानि च ।

स्वर्गारोहणकारणानि सकलाः सोमाश्वमेधादयो
यागास्तेन नरेण कर्तुमुचिता विद्यापि तस्यैव सा ॥

"Where am I, so great a person, and who is this lowliest person, *muktā* competing with me? Who is she, whose daughter is she, and whose wife? Does she not know me as the best of all metals?" says Gold.

भो सभ्याः कथयन्तु येयमधमा सार्धं मया स्पर्धते
केयं कस्य सुता च कस्य वनिता कार्यं किमस्याः पुनः ।
किं जानाति न मां सुवर्णमखिलैराराध्यमानं सदा
धातूत्तंसमिहापरत्र च सुखासाधारणं कारणम् ॥

Then enters smilingly *Pearl* (*Muktā*) boasting about its noble parentage and high circle of near relations. It is born from the ocean and earth; its brother is the Moon, the crest jewel for Śiva; her sister is Lakṣmī in the chest of Lord Viṣṇu; Muktā is indeed the repository of all virtues (*guṇaikadhāma*) [1]. "Where is Pearl born in such a high circle, and where is Svarṇa whose impotency is evident even in the very word being in the neuter gender (as Svarṇam)?" replies Pearl.

तातः ख्यातः स पाथोनिधिरतिमहती रत्नगर्भा च माता
ये ये सौभाग्यवन्तो जगति सुकृतिनो नायका मामकास्ते ।
आर्याः कार्यं मदीयं यदिह किमपि वा तद्भवन्तो वदन्तु
क्लीबं कस्मादकस्माद्वदति मयि सुधावर्णमेतत्सुवर्णम् ॥
भ्राता मे स कलानिधिर् गिरिसुताभर्तुः शिरोभूषणं
या सा मे भगिनी रमा भगवतो वक्षस्थलस्थायिनी ।
किं चाहं च समस्तराजरमणीवक्षोजभूषाकरी
मुक्ता नाम गुणैकधाम सततं निर्मुक्तदोषव्रजा ॥

Svarṇa retorts to this argument by saying that if the grammatical gender of a word is the real criterion for the impotency of the object denoted by it, it would lead to the absurdity of the Supreme Brahman, the cause for the entire world, being considered a thing with no potentiality.

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[1] 'Guṇa' means also 'thread' and hence 'guṇaikadhāma' refers to the speciality of Pearl in being always "strung in Gold or Silver threads". Of course the straightforward meaning is that Pearl is the sole repository of all virtues.

भो भोः सारासारविचारचतुराः सभासदः, कथमियं मुक्ता नाम मुक्तलोकलज्जा मां क्लीबमित्याभाषते ? . . . . . यदि च शब्दमात्रेण सैषा रण्डा समस्तवस्तूत्तमं क्लीबमित्याक्षिपति तर्हि ब्रह्मपदमपि निखिलजगज्जनकस्यापि ब्रह्मणः क्लीबतां कथं नापादयेत् ?

It is common knowledge that the words dāra, daivata and devatā are respectively masculine, neuter and feminine in grammatical terms. However the objects denoted by these words cannot be connected with these grammatical genders.

दारदैवतदेवतापदानां पुंनपुंसकस्त्रीलिङ्गत्वेऽपि न तदर्थानां तल्लिङ्गतेति सुप्रसिद्धतरम् ।

Gold adds that arising as the Pearl is from water (*jala*), it is full of dullness (*jaḍatva*).

अहो जडजनेरस्या मुक्ताया जाड्यमीदृशम् !

Also if a noble parentage is thrust forcibly on the children, as that of ocean and earth on Pearl, then the mother of Pearl (*śuktikā*) too ought to be considered of great value and esteem. This is however not the case.

यदिह जनकमहत्त्वादेव जन्ये महत्त्वं
तदिह किमिति न स्याच्छुक्तिकायास्तवापि ।
अथ निजगुणशून्यं तत्कथं वा महत् स्यात्
त्वमपि कमपि मुक्ते पश्य गौणं विशेषम् ॥

"But see on the other hand, the real, innate greatness of myself. Indra and other gods go to Sumeru because it is golden. The whole world is contained within the creator who takes pride in calling himself 'Hiraṇyagarbha'. How can the ocean stand in comparison with me and where again is the lowly Pearl?"—says Svarṇa.

मत्वा स्वर्णमयं सुमेरुशिखरं शक्रादयः संश्रिताः
किं चेमानि जगन्ति सन्ति सततं ब्रह्माण्डभाण्डोदरे ।
सृष्टं येन चराचरात्मकमिदं स्रष्टा स मद्गर्भजः
को वा ते जलधिर्मदीयगणने का त्वं वराकी पुनः ॥

In this strain there is some interesting raillery between Gold and Pearl involving śleṣas, mythological allusions etc. The śleṣas especially are never strained or overdone. See for example the following two verses spoken by Gold to Pearl :

सारवद्भिरसारत्वात् त्यक्तेति तव मुक्तता ।
तदा यत्सूत्रबद्धासि मुक्तिस्ते कीदृशी पुनः ॥

Here muktatā means 'Pearlness' or 'quality of Pearl' as also 'release'. Gold says here that rich potential persons like Gold and Silver give up pearl as insignificant nonentity. Hence its 'release' (and also the 'nature of pearl'). However when pearl is strung or bound by Golden thread where is the question of its release? In a similar strain is the following verse :—

यदि मुक्तासि मुक्ते त्वं नापवर्गवती सदा ।
अपवर्गवती चेद् त्वं न मुक्तासीति निश्चयः ॥

Here 'apavarga' means 'release' and also 'one not consisting of a labial or pavarga'. In the word 'muktā' 'mu' is a labial nasal.

In the course of such good humoured disputes the modes of addressing each other in satirical terms contain many synonyms of Gold and Pearl. Thus Gold is called Sudhāvarṇa, Klība, Hiraṇya, Ākarajani (found in mines), Durvarṇa-Sahodara (brother of Durvarṇa or Silver), Bharma, Hāṭaka, Durmukha, Tapanīya, Gāṅgeya, Kāñcana and Kārtasvara. Muktā is called Ratnākara-jani or Jaḍa-jani (born of Ocean) and also depravingly called Paruṣākṣarabhāṣiṇī, Pāparūpā, Muktāpiśācī, Jñānamuktā etc.

To provide authority and support for their mutual provoking sarcastic statements the main contending parties of Gold and Pearl cite quotations from well-known kāvyas and Dharmaśāstras. For example—Gold is very angry at the audience keeping silent even after hearing the sharp, incorrect attacks of Pearl on itself. In this context Gold quotes the verse (no. 9.)—

सभा वा न प्रवेष्टव्या वक्तव्यं वा समञ्जसम् ।
अब्रुवन् विब्रुवन्वापि नरो भवति किल्बिषी ॥

The above is Manu. VIII. 13.

Similarly on a later occasion when Silver is provoked by the positive response of the audience to the attack of Pearl against Gold, it supports its remark with the well-known verse from *Kumārasambhava* (V. 83) where Pārvatī says that even hearing the negative criticisms aimed at the noble is as great a sin as levelling such a criticism. With a slight variation Silver says :—

न केवलं यो भवतां विभाषते श्रृणोति तस्मादपि यः स पापभागिति ।

The mild satire comes in and through simple similes and general statements arthāntaranyāsa) also. For example.

गुञ्जया तुलितस्वर्ण मुक्तया सह तुल्यता ।
युक्ता न ते पिकस्पर्धी काकः किं गरुडायते ॥

"Gold, measured as you are against the small red and black berry, it is not proper for you to consider yourself as equal with Pearl. A crow vying with a cuckoo cannot hope to become a garuḍa".

प्रमत्तगजकुम्भभित्सकलशूरधीराग्रणीः ।
करोति सह फेरुणा किमपि हुंकृतिं केसरी ॥

"Will the lion, the foremost among brave animals and capable of splitting the temples of intoxicated elephants, growl at the jackal?"

गन्धापूरितदिङ्मुखावनिमिलद्भृङ्गालिभिर्लालितं
पद्मं वेत्ति, न दर्दुरो यदि तदा पद्मस्य किं हीयते ॥

"If the frog cannot have a feel for the lotus exuding sweet scent in all the quarters and kissed affectionately by the hovering bees, it is not the fault of the lotus".

After such hot discussions enters *Silver*, who takes the side of Gold and attacks Pearl. The latter calls forth her companions like Diamond, Crystal, Coral, Ruby, Lapiz lazuli and Emerald. The rival groups increasing in number, the dispute becomes more intense and complex. At this critical juncture Gold offers to present the dispute before their patron Balabhadra who alone will be able to bring about a compromise. Pearl also agrees to this proposition.

सुवर्ण---भो भो वत्स कलधौत, किमेतैः पाषाणैस्सह कलहेन ? अस्माकमेषां च सारासार-विचारं राजाधिराजबलभद्र एव करिष्यतीति तच्चरणसमीपमुपगच्छामः ।

[Gold—Friend Silver, what is the use of fighting with these stones? The king Balabhadra alone with be able to decide the relative merits between the rival contending parties. Let us all go to him.]

मुक्ता --(सहर्षं) साधु सुवर्ण, सम्मतमेतदस्माकम् । (ततः सर्वेऽपि क्षितिपालमुपगम्य स्वस्वविशेषं विज्ञापयन्ति ।)

[Pearl (joyfully)—Well, gold, this meets with our approval.]

On hearing the case king Balabhadra laughs at their simple quarrel. He calls forth all the metals and says that actually he finds no real reason or purpose in their dispute.

हे हे सुवर्ण रजत ताम्रक नाग वङ्ग लोहारकूट कलहं कुरुतात्र कस्मात् ।
पश्यामि नैव कलहस्य हि बीजमत्र नापि प्रयोजनममुष्य विलोकयामि ॥

He further adds that they should give up their individual pride and stand united, although by the very nature of things, there will be difference and disparities.

भो सुवर्ण, अस्मत्सभायामभिमानमपहाय मिलित्वैव स्थीयताम् । यतः,
सर्वेऽपि गर्वमपहाय सवैरमत्र तिष्ठन्ति पश्य समवेत्य परस्परेण ।
सन्त्यत्र केचन समा विषमाश्च केचित् किं कोऽपि केन कुरुते कलहं कदापि ॥

Gold agrees to this suggestion and remains satisfied. Addressing Pearl and other gems the ruler remarks that they all shine to advantage only when strung in golden thread.

युष्माकं यादृशी कान्तिः काञ्चनेन सहामुना ।
नान्यथा तादृशी, तेन मिलित्वैवास्यतामिति ॥

Finally Diamond reiterates the King's viewpoint. Then it cites the verse—

उपकर्त्रारिणा सन्धिर्न मित्रेणापकारिणा ।
उपकारापकारौ हि लक्ष्यं लक्षणमेतयोः ॥

The above is Śiśupālavadha II. 37, in which Māgha says that compromise with a helpful enemy is preferable to an antagonising friend. Only 'assistance' and 'harm' are the criteria for deciding a real friend and an enemy. Gold, who has been of great assistance in projecting the beauty of Pearl and other gems, is therefore no enemy but only an ally.

Pearl and other gems accept the verdict of the king as supported by Diamond and get together in harmony.

Diamond in its Bharatavākya, prays for the well being of the ruler Śāhi Bahadur, the universal sovereign endowed with heroism and strength and ruling over the entire earth rich with varied produce and girdled by the ocean.

सर्वाकूपारपारस्थितमपि विविधं वस्तुजातं समस्तं
शस्तं यत्पादपीठं क्षितितलममलं सर्वदालंकरोति ।
योऽसौ भूचक्रवर्ती जगदखिलमहावीरधीराग्रवर्ती
प्राज्यं राज्यं विधत्तां नृपतिकुलमणिः साहिबाहादुरेन्द्रः ॥

The concluding 61st colophonic verse refers to the playlet as written by Maheśa Paṇḍita of Śrīnagarī and its appreciation by objective critics.

इयं श्रीनगरीयस्य श्रीमहेशमनीषिणः ।
निर्मितिः शर्म निर्मातु निर्मत्सरमनीषिणाम् ॥

The antiquity of Sanskrit is well known, but its continuity is not less remarkable. In spite of travails and tribulations, Sanskrit has consolidated itself as a pan-Indian language by reason of the common culture and thought it embodied. The contribution of Sanskrit to various branches of study has continued even after the fertile periods, well known through the books on History of Sanskrit Literature. It is usual for authors on such histories to complain of degeneration in quality and quantity of the contribution from about the medieval period. A detailed study of Sanskrit Literature composed during the last four centuries or more would belie such opinions. In fact Sanskrit authors, until the present times, have kept themselves in close touch with contemporary events and utilised freely the fresh material with which they came into contact. The late lamented Dr. V. Raghavan has dealt with this later phase of literature briefly in some of his writings. The History of Sanskrit literature recently sponsored by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, has envisaged the coverage of the entire available material in three parts; the third and last part is to deal in some detail with the contribution during the last four centuries or more.

It is in this context that the analysis of playlets like *Svarṇamuktāsaṃvāda* gains special significance. The above detailed study clearly shows that its author Maheśa Paṇḍita belonging to the 16th century is not only able to successfully continue the ancient religious and allegorical play-type initiated by the 10th century Jayanta Bhaṭṭa in the typical classical style, but also to introduce some novelty of his own, especially in the choice of characters. It is also a proof, if at all one such is needed, that Sanskrit is neither slumbering nor merely reproducing some patterns.

New Light on Bharata's Lakṣaṇa and Related Concepts

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Dharwar

I

It has been noticed by all scholars that the only concept of art prominently projected by Bharata in his *Nāṭyaśāstra* is *Lakṣaṇa*. But unfortunately, the text of Abhinavagupta on the sixteenth chapter itself has come in two recensions with innumerable variants, and the *Abhinavabhāratī* too is full of misreadings. Beacause of these handicaps, even the doyen of Alaṅkāra studies, the late Prof. V. Raghavan could not exactly define what *Lakṣaṇa* was, or how Abhinavagupta could persistently allude to it as *Kavi-vyāpāra* or the artistic activity of the poet or playwright.[1]

The anonymous *Kalpalatāviveka* [2], recently published, gives some important citations from the *Abhinavabhāratī* which throw more light on Abhinava's idea of *Lakṣaṇa*. I shall give *in extenso* one remarkable passage .—

> " *Kāvyalakṣaṇeṣu* " . . . *iti. Lakṣaṇāpara - paryāyasya vyāpārasya prādhānye kāvya-gīr-bhaved ityuktatvāt tatsadbhāva eva hi Kāvyamityeṣa śabdaḥ pravartate.*
>
> " *Nāyaṁ* . . ." *iti. Alaṅkāryasya Kāvyatvasyābhāvāt.*
>
> " *Lakṣaṇaṁ tu* " *iti. Idaṁ anena śabdena anayā itikartavyatayā amunā āśayena evambhūta-buddhi-jananāya bruve iti Kaviḥ pravartate iti Kavivyāpāro lakṣaṇaśabdavācyaḥ iti hi uktacaram Pallave.*
>
> " *Muninā hi* " *iti. Yato lakṣaṇāni muninā praṇītāni; ato bandha-śabdaḥ tatparyāyatayā vyākhyātaḥ.*

The first sentence above quotes with approval Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka's stand that as contrasted with Veda wherein *śabda* or the injunctive word is all-important and with *Purāṇa* wherein *artha* or *arthavāda*, that is to say, persuasive argument on the analogy of legends and stories become all-important, in *kāvya* or literature both the above lose their importance and give place to the exclusive importance of the artistic activity of

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[1] See, *Some Concepts of Alaṅkāraśāstra*, Adyar Library, Madras, 1942, pp. 1-47.

[2] Published by the L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad and edited by Murari Lal Nagar and Harishankar Shastri, Ahmedabad, 1963.

the poet termed by him as *Kavi-vyāpāra.*[1] After citing this, the *Locana* comments that if Bhaṭṭa-nāyaka is talking here only of *rasanāsvabhāva-dhvanana-vyāpāra* in other words, he has said nothing original; if he is talking only of *abhidhā*, then it is to be rejected. This doubt is pertinent in the light of the other citation from him also given in the *Locana.*[2]

dhvanirnāmāparo yo'pi vyāpāro vyañjanātmakaḥ |

tasya siddhe'pi bhede syāt Kāvyāṁśatvaṁ na rūpatā ||

Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka, apparently, held that his idea of *Kavi-vyāpāra* was far more comprehensive than Ānandavardhana's *vyañjanā-vyāpāra.* How exactly it was more comprehensive is seen in another citation of his preserved to us by Jayaratha :—

abhidhādhāmatām yāte śabdārthālaṅkṛtī tataḥ |
bhāvanābhāvya eṣo'pi śṛṅgārādigaṇo mataḥ ||
tadbhogīkṛtirūpeṇa vyāpyate siddhimān naraḥ |
dṛśyamānāthavā mokṣe yātyaṅgatvamiyaṁ sphuṭam || [3]

These three, namely, *abhidhā*, *bhāvanā* and *bhogīkṛti* are expressly regarded by him as not exclusive functions but three distinguishable aspects of one integrally whole poetic function or *kavivyāpāra* :—

abhidhā bhāvanā cānyā tadbhogīkṛtireva ca. [4]

But the only writer who quotes the second line of the basic text of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka regarding *kāvya*, viz.,

dvayorguṇatve vyāpāra-prādhānye Kāvyagīrbhavet

is]Ruyyaka in his commentary on the *Vyaktiviveka* :—[5]

" *tatkartā ca kaviḥ prokto bhede'pi hi tadasti yat* "

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[1] First cited by Abhinavagupta in *Locana*, KSRI edn., p. 161.
See also Māṇikyacandra's *Saṅketa* on *Kāvyaprakāśa*, I. 2.; and Jayaratha's *Vimarśinī* on *Alaṅkārasarvasva's* preface.

Śabdaprādhānyamāśritya tatra śāstraṁ pṛthagviduḥ |

arthe tattvena yukte tu vadantyākhyānametayoḥ ||

dvayorguṇatve vyāpāraprādhānye Kāvyagīrbhavet |

[2] See *Locana*, *p.* 78 ; Also cited by Jayaratha, Loc. cit.

[3] Loc. cit.

[4] Loc. cit.

[5] *Vyaktiviveka*, Benares Edn., p. 95.

A poet deserves that designation 'kavi' only inasmuch as he has already created a literary work involving the said *vyāpāra*, and not *vice versa* as Bhaṭṭa Tauta would say.[1]

Now we can see how the whole edifice of Bhaṭṭanāyaka's *vyāpāra-prādhānya-vāda* is built on the foundation of what Bharata called *Lakṣaṇa*. When Abhinavagupta faced the task of explaining Bharata's chapter on *Lakṣaṇa*, he is inclined to follow in the footsteps of Bhaṭṭa-Nāyaka, and give up for the time being his staunch advocacy of Ānandavardhana's *vyañjanā-vyāpāra*.

Whatever is the conscious artistry of the poet, directed to the means serving the end in view, comes under the category of *Lakṣaṇa*. Therefore, '*bandha*' or construction can be a synonym for it, as stated in the third *pratīka* from the *Kalpalatāviveka*, mentioned at the outset.

It is really interesting to note that Ānandavardhana himself uses this aesthetic term *bandhacchāyā* more than once in the *Dhvanyāloka* having almost the same width of significance.[2] The objective beauty of a literary work due to the artistry of the poet shines out only when his constructive skill is illustrated in using language to mean more than what meets the ear.

Further, Kuntaka introduces this word *bandha* as a key-term in his very definition of *kāvya*:—

> *Śabdārthau sahitau vakrakavivyāpāraśālini* |
> *bandhe vyavasthitau Kāvyaṁ tadvidāhlāda-kāriṇi* || [3]

Only when both thought and expression together came to be embedded in a *bandha* which is beautiful by reason of the artistic *Kavivyāpāra* that we have poetry. Kuntaka himself later on explains *bandha* as *vākya-vinyāsa* [4] or dexterous composition or arrangement of whole sentences.

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[1] Viz., . . . *Varṇanā-nipuṇaḥ kaviḥ tasya karma smṛtaṁ kāvyaṁ* Loc. cit.

[2] Cf. (i) *Yatra hi vyaṅgyāvabhāsinaḥ padasya ekasyaiva tāvadāvirbhāvaḥ tatrāpi kāvye kāpi bandhacchāyā, kimuta yatra teṣāṁ bahūnāṁ samavāyaḥ ?*

Dhvanyāloka, Ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharwad, 1974, p. 148;

(ii) *bandhacchāyāpi arthadvayānurūpa-śabdasanniveśaḥ—op. cit.* p. 282.

(iii) *Vivakṣita-vyaṅgya-vācyārthasamarpaṇa-samartha-śabda-racanā-rūpayā bandhacchāyayā Op. cit* p. 296.

[3] *Vakroktijīvita*, Ed. K. Krishnamoorthy, Dharwad, 1977, p. 6 (I.7).

[4] Loc. cit. p. 11.

Against this background, *Abhinavabhāratī's* observation which gives some more synonyms for *Lakṣaṇa* will make good sense :—

bandho, gumpho, bhaṇitiḥ, vakroktiḥ, kavivyāpāra iti hi paryāyāḥ.[1]

This he says while introducing Bharata's definition of the simile. *Lakṣaṇa,* according to him, is far more basic to poetry than figures like the simile :—

Lakṣaṇaṁ tu alaṅkāraśūnyamapi na nirarthakaṁ. [2]

Similes etc., add beauty only when *Kāvya-bandha* or *lakṣaṇa* is present, not otherwise. If *Upamā* is an *alaṅkāra*, that which is embellished is nothing but *lakṣaṇa* :—

etadeva ca lakṣaṇaṁ taccālaṅkriyate;
alaṅkārayuktam kāvyaṁ laksaṇairvinā na śobhate.[3]

The example of 'partial simile' cited by Bharata himself is :—

sampūrṇacandravadanā nīlotpaladalekṣaṇā |
mattamātaṅgagamanā samprāpteyaṁ sakhī mama ||

But at the outset, Abhinava states that *Lakṣaṇa*, is twofold—(1) *siddharūpa* or self-existent and (2) *sādhyarūpa* or yet-to-be. The example for the *siddha* type is *śyāmā* or a charming damsel; *madamanthara-gāminī* or a 'drunken damsel walking slowly,' will illustrate the second. These two types of *lakṣaṇa* can then be embellished with figures. Instead of *Śyāmā*, we can say '*Śyāmā viśālākṣī*' and for *madamantharagāminī* we can add a simile and say *mattamātaṅgagāminī*. Unlike the *rūpaka*, the *upamānas* come earlier in Bharata's exampl e of simile cited above; *sampūrṇacandra, nīlotpaladala, mattamātaṅga* are all first members of the compound words concerned, and hence they are not metaphors. This fact is noted in the *Kalpalatāviveka* which further adds that the *upamāna* is employed by the poet because it possesses a greater wealth of beauty (*manohāritvātiśaya*). The subject on hand (*prastuta* or *upameya*) is already beautiful by dint of *lakṣaṇa*. It is made much more so by associating it with the *aprastuta* or *upamāna*. Hence *upamā* is an *alaṅkāra* of *lakṣaṇa* and nothing else.[4]

Abhinava himself notes that it is indeed the first *Lakṣaṇa* (called *Vibhūṣaṇa*) which justifies and conditions the judicious use of not only *alaṅkāras* but also *guṇas* and it is to be taken as representing the poetic process itself or *kavivyāpāra.*

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[1] *Abhinavabhāratī*, G.O.S. Edn., Vol. II. p. 322.

[2] Loc. cit.

[3] Ibid., p. 295.

[4] Loc. cit p. 241.

Samastasya guṇālaṅkāravargasya, tadvaśācca śabdārtha-tadvyāpārādyapi spṛśad Vibhūṣaṇākhyaṁ lakṣaṇaṁ.[1]

Now we reach the climax of the greatness of *Lakṣaṇa* when Abhinava equates it with the norms of judiciousness laid down by Ānandavardhana in the use of *alaṅkāras* in keeping with *rasas,* and quotes the *kārikās* II. 15 to 18.[2] In other words, the principle of *rasaucitya* in regard to the use of *guṇas* as well as *alaṅkāras* is a direct corrolary of Bharata's principle of *Lakṣaṇa.*

We have seen already that among the many synonyms of *Lakṣaṇa* are included *bandha, gumpha, bhaṇiti* and *vakrokti.* This again ceases to be puzzling because Vāmana has openly declared that the *guṇas* are properties of *racanā* or *bandha.*[3] And Kuntaka has elaborated at great length his aesthetic principle of *vakrokti* in terms of *bandha* and *vidagdha-bhaṅgī-bhaṇiti.*[4]

II

This leads us on to practical criticism and exercise of literary judgement. Here Mahimabhaṭṭa has indeed shown a rare sense of poetic appreciation, which is mostly missed by scholars who are preoccupied with his strictures of *Dhvani* and *Vakrokti.*

First of all, it should be noted that Mahima rejects-lock, stock, and barrel—the thesis of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka that both *śabda* and *artha* are *apradhāna* in poetry and only *Vyāpāra* is *pradhāna.* On the other hand, he states boldly that both *śabda* and *artha* are together all-important in poetry, a stand which is identical with that of Ānandavardhana, of all persons.[5]

Secondly, he pays a compliment to Vāmana as having laid his finger on an important fact when he described all figures as involving simile in a suggestive way.[6]

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[1] *Abhinavabhāratī,* Vol. II. p. 299.

[2] *Dhvanyāloka,* Dharwar edn., p. 56 ff.

[3] Cf. *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtra-vṛtti,* I. i. 6-8 and III. i. 4.

[4] Cf. *Vakroktijīvita,* I. 10.

[5] Cf. *Tatra śabdapradhānaṁ Vedādi . . . arthapradhānaṁ itihāsa-purāṇādi. . . . ubhaya-pradhānaṁ sargabandhādi kāvyaṁ, tasya rasātmakatvād, rasasya ca ubhayaucityena paripoṣadarśanāt- Vyaktiviveka,* p. 422.

Cf. also *Dhvanyāloka* :—

śabdārthayoḥ sāhityena kāvyatve . . . op. cit. p. 282.

[6] *rūpakādiralaṅkāravargo yamaka eva hi | tatprapañcatayā (—upamāprapañcatayā) proktaḥ kaiścit tattvārthadarśibhiḥ || Vyaktiviveka,* p. 343.

Thirdly, he too accepts unhesitatingly that *Kavivyāpāra* is an undisputed condition of *Kāvya* with his own slight modification :—

Kavivyāpāro hi vibhāvādisaṁyojanātmā rasābhiyaktyavyabhicāri Kāvyamucyate.[1]

We may now take two specimens of his literary judgement.

(1) The first is from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*[2] :—

" *Nirmokamuktimiva gaganoragasya, līlālalāṭikāmiva triviṣṭapaviṭasya. . . .* "

Kuntaka had given this example to illustrate how poets deftly endow metaphor with shades of other *alaṅkāras* too ; here metaphor is made doubly charming according to him by the additional touch of poetic fancy (*utprekṣā*)[3]. The shining blue autumnal sky is described by Bāṇa :—

"as if it were the slough cast off by the sky-cobra ; as if it were the ornamental *tilaka* mark worn on the forehead by the charming lover, namely Heaven. etc."

According to Mahimabhaṭṭa's judgement, this duplication of the comparison, first suggestively by way of the metaphor (*rūpaka*), and again openly by the expression *iva* is nothing but an injudicious blemish. The suggested metaphorical simile should not have been rendered ineffective by again stating it in so many words. Hemacandra and Māṇikyacandra too agree with Mahimabhaṭṭa on this point.[4]

(2) The second example we would like to take for an illuminating interpretation by Mahimabhaṭṭa is a verse first cited by Vāmana as an example of the style Pāñcālī which combines in itself the qualities of 'sweetness' (*mādhurya*) as well as 'tenderness' (*saukumārya*), though to some extent partaking of the manner of *Purāṇas*[5] :—

grāme'smin pathikāya pāntha vasatirnaivādhunā dīyate
rātrāvatra vihāramaṇḍapatale pānthaḥ prasupto yuvā |
tenotthāya khalena garjati ghane smṛtvā priyāṁ tatkṛtaṁ
yenādyāpi karaṅkadaṇḍapatanāśaṅkī janastiṣṭhati ||

This is a verse which, according to Vāmana, has suffered from much misinterpretation losing sight of the poet's intended meaning. The first two lines present no difficulty. They may be rendered in English as follows :—

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[1] Loc. cit. p. 95.
[2] Nirṇayasagar Press Edition ; Bombay, p. 19.
[3] *Vakroktijīvita*, Dharwar edn., p. 181.
[4] *Kāvyaprakāśa-saṅketa*, Mysore O.R.I. Edition, Vol. II. 1077, p. 608.
[5] *Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti*, under I. i. 13.

O traveller, no shelter is given to any way-farer in our village these days
As a youth who was allowed to sleep at night recently under the resthouse yonder;

The misunderstanding starts with the report of his action at night contained in the latter half of the stanza :—

> 'As the clouds thundered, remembering his beloved afar, the wretch got up and did that, alas, by which the people here are still afraid that his corpse or skeleton might fall from above'!

All the commentators of Vāmana as well as modern translators have usually taken it this way only, thinking that the corpse feared to fall down any moment from above is that of the lover. But Mahimabhaṭṭa sees no point or poetic beauty in this supposed allusion to the lover's suicide. How can such a dry report be raised to the level of poetry unless it hides some relevance to the person speaking? The person speaking here can only be a wanton woman in the village, interested in keeping the youthful way farer in her residence for the night, anticipating the pleasures possible in his company, as she has fallen in love with him. Her report of the death inicident in the village resthouse can only be meaningful if it should lend support to her secret invitation to him to stay in her home. This can be achieved, only if we understand that the man was so attached to his distant beloved that he allowed his hostess, in love with him, to die, by forsaking her, and running away at the dead of the night to the arms of the other woman. The people in the village rightly fear that their own relation's corpse might haunt them all! The person dead should be understood as the hostess and not as the guest. The lady is inviting the man to stay with her only on condition that he is not already in love with another woman as she does not want the fate of the other hostess to befall on her also, because of the lover's abandonment. This is indeed a very penetrating literary analysis of the inner meaning of the verse and reveals Mahimabhaṭṭa's poetic insight as well as critical acumen. [1]

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[1] *atra hi kāci vasatiṁ prārthayamānam pathika-yuvānamuddiśya utpannamanmatha-vyathāveśā tasyānyānurāgitāmāśaṅkamānā dāruṇatarapariṇāmo'nyāsaktajanānurāga iti, na cedasi kasyāmścidanuraktastadidam akhilameva gṛhamayam ca janastavāyatta eva; anyathā gamyatāmiti svābhipretamartham asmai nivedayitukāmā pūrvavṛttāntam vasativihitopakāra-kāmini-maraṇāvedana-phalam vaktumupakramata iti tadabhiprāyamavidvāmsaḥ te puruṣavadhāvedanam taditi manyamānāḥ tathaiva apavyācakṣate-Vyaktiviveka*, p. 425.

These considerations are enough to show, how amidst the seeming diversities of aesthetic concepts such as *alaṅkāra, guṇa, rīti, bandha, dhvani, vakrokti* and *anumāna*, when considered in isolation, there is indeed an underlying thread of unity embodied in the idea of *lakṣaṇa* propounded by Bharata in keeping with *rasa*. All the later developments of ideas by masterly theorists owe their origin to the incohate but insightful hints of the sage Bharata himself! None of the concepts can be studied in isolation, tearing them apart, either ftom each other or from *rasa* which is the overall end and aim of all literature. This need for an integrated approach was fully realised by masterly writers like Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha and Jagannātha in their works. What is most needed today in our Alaṅkāra studies is a similar integrated perspective.

Greek Contribution to Sanskrit Studies Demetrius Galanos 1760—1833

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I'll try to sketch the life-work of an unusual scholar born in Athens, being from an early age at Constantinople—for centuries the seat of the great institutions of intellectual activity of the Greeks—and migrated to India, to end his days in the sacred city of Benares absorbed in the study of Sanskrit literature. He lived following the rule of life of the Brahmins and died as a Christian Orthodox Greek!

In a paper read at the Congress for the History of Religions at Oxford on 17th September 1908, J. Gennadius, delegate of the Hellenic Syllogos of Constantinople, tries to explain the strange and systematic silence around Galanos' existence and the voluminous work he accomplished. He says: "the reasons may perhaps be sought both in the fact that modern Greek literature is only now beginning to be studied abroad, and in the extreme modesty and the retiring disposition of Galanos himself. For, although one of the earliest and ablest pioneers of Indology, he personally laid no claim to any literary achievement, he published nothing during his lifetime, but followed the dictates of true philosophy—not a self asserting philosophy, practised as some kind of craft, and proclaimed by the working of marvels, thus setting the example of pure, unselfish, unpretentious, blameless-existence, benevolent to all men, tolerant to all things save wrong of any kind." Personally I can't agree with the first sentence of J. Gennadius. The Greek of the XVII century used by Galanos, was quite close to the Greek of the Fathers of the Church, and the scholars specially the philologists of the XIX century, all knew Greek and Latin, even if they shifted to Indology or other philological disciplines. We must bear in mind that Sir William Jones already in his lecture of February 2, 1786 proclaimed the close relationship between the Indo-Aryan languages, Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit, and ever since all philologists were in the capacity to have access to Galanos' translations. We know that Lassen, Burnouf and others had a deep knowledge of Greek. So the silence around Galanos could be eventually explained by his extreme modesty or possibly another unknown reason.

When Max Muller, writing on Abbe Dubois' first edition of *Hindu Manners, Customs, Ceremonies* (Oxford, 1906) said: "By his position as a scholar and as a student of Indian subjects, he really belongs to a period previous to the revival of Sanskrit studies in India as inaugurated by Wilkins, Sir William Jones and Colebrooke" (p. V); it is but strange, he had not mentioned Galanos, their contemporary, whose contribution was since long recognised by scholars like Windisch, Weber, E. Kuhn and others, and who at 1802 had already finished his translation of the Gitā.

Demetrius Galanos was born in Athens in 1760 as the second son of well-to-do Athenian parents. His elder brother died in childhood, his younger one stayed near the parents, cultivating the family-land and looking after the property. It is with this younger brother's son Pantaleon, that Demetrius had the correspondence which gives us some more information on him.

Demetrius showed extraordinary aptitudes for letters. He stood first among his classmates and mastered Greek grammar and literature. At the age of fourteen through his devotion to Greek learning he acquired all that the precintive educational resources in Athens at that time could offer him. We must bear in mind that Greece was in its fourth century of Turkish occupation, and the situation in Athens was most unstable. He was therefore sent to Messolonghi as a pupil, to the famous grammar school, where Panagiotis Palamas, one of the most outstanding grammarians of Greece was teaching. It is interesting to mention that Palamas, whose name originally was Palamiris, changed it, in order to indicate his relationship to St. Gregoire Palamas (d. 1360), the famous opponent of Hesychasm (Christian Orthodox form of mysticism, called pure-prayer) whose follower Palamiris was.

Galanos' stay in Messolonghi seems to have lasted for four years. After it, he went to the island of Patmos, where there was a well established and flourishing Greek Orthodox Seminary attached to the old and rich monastery of St. John Theologus.

His Studies were devoted entirely to education and preparation for the priesthood. The period of training was seven years. The matters taught were Religion, Ancient Greek, Philosophy, Latin, Oratory and Ecclesiastic music. Galanos was also there very lucky. He had the chance to have as a professor, the most celebrated philologist Daniel Kerameus (d. 1801) and became soon his devoted pupil. The school was built in the beginning of the XVIII century above the Grotto of the Apocalypse where St. John had his visions. The library of Patmos was famous, not only for the big and good selection of books but for a very valuable collection of MS and Codex, which are still up to present day, the treasure of the Monastery. The Patmos school was one of the best of its time.

We again don't know if Galanos stayed the whole period of seven years or left a year earlier. What is certain is that he went from there to Constantinople. His uncle Gregory, Bishop of Caesarea and Protothronos (Primate) of the Holy Synode at Constantinople, asked the young Demetrius to join him. He came to know of the rare attainment and moral qualities of his nephew and urged him to take the Holy Orders. Galanos declined. It seems he thought his whole training, specially at Patmos was preparing him to follow that line. It seems he was determined to devote his life to the study of Greek literature and philosophy, though it must have not been easy to refuse such a career, since his uncle had just founded a new theological school. Under Turkish rule, the only way to advance for an educated Greek, was to become a clergyman or a

civil servant. During his stay in Constantinople he had a precarious existence by giving Greek lessons. One must remember the atmosphere prevailing in the end of the XVIII century. The revival of letters, among the enslaved Greeks and the consequent awakening of the national conscience which prepared and ushered in the War of Liberation of 1821, were then in full activity. Centres of this activity were the churches, hidden night schools, Monastries and priests, the last ones playing the leading role in the awakening of the National upsurge. Side by side was the great development of Greek trade. So it was not surprising, that a Greek community was flourishing in Calcutta and Dacca. The members of these communities with characteristic tenacity of national traditions, desired that their children should be brought up in their mother tongue. Following this line, Constantine Pantazis, chief of the Calcutta community (native of Adrianople), wrote to his correspondent at Constantinople, asking him to find a Greek teacher for his children. It just happened, that this correspondent was a friend of Bishop Gregory. It was thus, that Demetrius Galanos was chosen to carry to the young Greeks in Bengal, the ancestral learning and the new hopes of the motherland. Here again is an interesting trait of Galanos' character and disposition. His first act was to remit to his relatives in Athens, what little he managed to save. He then started his journey to India following a peculiar route. He first went to the Greek Orthodox Monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai. Then continued his journey by way of Bassorah.

According to Gennadios he reached Calcutta in 1786 and lodged with Pantazis. During the six or seven years he stayed in Calcutta while teaching the young Greeks their mother tongue, he devoted his leisure to the deeper study of English, to master Sanskrit and Persian and learn Bengali and Hindustani, so as to be able to have a real contact with the local people. His early tendencies to avoid any career or position, but devote himself in research and learning finally determined the rest of his life. He resigned his post, at the end of the sixth year of his stay with the Pantazis' and left for Benares. He had invested his savings in order to have an income, which would enable him to devote his life in scholarship and it is certain that his friend, the wealthy man that Pantazis was, had been very generous with him. One who is familiar with the way that the Greeks are helping always each other when far away from their country, has no difficulty to believe that Pantazis looked always after the affairs of his friend. Bishop Herbert made some unkind remarks on Galanos—"Among them is a Greek, a well-informed and well-mannered man, who has fixed himself for many years, living on his means, whatever they are, and professing to study Sanskrit. I heard a good deal of him afterwards in Allahabad, and was much struck by the singularity and mystery of his character and situation. He is a very good scholar in the language of his country, and speaks good English, French, and Italian." It is extraordinary, that a priest could not understand that, passion for scholarship, could be a strong spell to keep some one occupied. Besides that, it seems that Galanos established close relations with the local people, not only because of his integral character, high elevated mind and the rule of life he has set himself, living up to the highest ideals of moral purity and rectitude.

Gennadios is very precise and clear in his information based on all the documents he could collect from the Greeks who knew and were in contact with Galanos that "he retired to Benares to devote himself exclusively to the study of Sanskrit literature and Hindu philosophy, adopting the dress of the Brahmins and strictly conforming to their role of life."

It seems that it is this adoption of the local dress which brought a lot of controversy and allusions around Galanos, as how far he remained Greek or became Hindu. In Greece he was called "Galanos the Brahmin" as if one can become Brahmin! Inscription was mentioned to have been read on his tomb, as follows: 'Sacred to the memory of Demetrius Galanos, an Athenian who died in Benares in the East Indies on the 3rd of May 1833 aged 72 years." Then an epitaph composed in Hindustani by Munshi Seetal Singh and finally a curious remark on the Prodromos that Galanos "became a Brahmin and was honoured as a scholar and saint by Indians and Europeans alike."

During the several years I have stayed in Benares and with the help of the enlightened articles of Prof. Siegfried Schultz and my personal research in Greece (both in the National Library where Galanos' Mss. are kept and in the National Archives) I came to the conclusion that Galanos died and was buried as a Christian Orthodox Greek. My statement is based on the following facts:

(1) His death was registered in the Register of Diocese of Lucknow, Benares St. Mary's College. There is a combined register for Baptism (1829-1854)—Marriage (1829-1855) - Burials (1829-1855); Galanos' death is registered as follows:

Nr.	Year	Month	Day	Names	Profession and Residence	Where buried	Signature of who buried
52	1883	May	3	Demetrius Greek Galanos	Christian Benares	Benares	A. Hammond Distt. Chaplain

The Register lies now in the Diocese of Allahabad since according to the rules, after 50 years the Registers should be transported to the Bishop's House from Benares. It was Mr. Macdonald Safir, Keeper of the Register, who kindly showed me the one I was interested in and allowed me to photograph it. In 1833 there were 16 deaths registered in Benares.

(2) The Last Will of Galanos makes also clear that he remained up to his death a Christian and a Greek, I received a photocopy from the National Archives in Athens, where a true copy of his last will is kept under Nr. 164. It starts in a very religious way: "In the name of God, Amen. Then twice he is concerned with his death". In the first page in the middle of the enumeration of his obligations to be settled he mentions: "Expenses for burial" and in the second page as follows "I also desire that out of the



Pl 1. Anglican Cemetry in Chauka Ghat



Pl 2. Epigraph on marble slab

eight hundred rupees now in the hands of Munshi Seetal Singh, four hundred should be paid to any person or persons having the legal authority to receive this sum for a piece of ground, in the courtyard of the Church, for my grave. The other sum of four hundred rupees, I desire, should be given to Mr. James Best for the purpose of erecting a monument on my grave."

After arduous research in the several cemeteries of Varanasi, I finally found Galanos' grave (pl. 1) in the Anglican Cemetery in Chauka Ghat located exactly according to the information Gennadios gives us in "Hellinismos" February—April 1930 p. 11, and in absolute conformity with the detailed description of the grave and the epigraph on a marble slab was obviously put afterwards. (pl. 2). What appears rather strange is that the same Gennadios in his paper on Galanos read at the Congress for the History of Religions at Oxford, September, 17, 1908 A.D. mentions a different inscription than the one of Hellinismos which is the one I saw (Pl. I) presently on the grave. Gennadios has never been to Benares and he relied on second hand information. But the inscription he mentions in 1930 and the details of the location must have been given to him by his friend K.D. Petrokokkinos, certainly after 1908 A.D. (date of his paper at Oxford) though it is stated that Petrokokkinos repaired the tomb around 1905 A.D. In the informations that Gennadios received, a confusion must have been made, between the inscription on the memorial slab, affixed to the wall of the Greek Church in Calcutta by Pantaleon and the text of the epigraph on Galanos' grave in Benares. That is what I feel.[2]

With these documents in hand, there must not be any more doubt about Galanos' state of mind when he died. The number of letters which have been published in 'Prodromos' and "Indian Correspondence" show him being always concerned, preoccupied about his family, his friends, the state of affairs in Greece, in one word never wanting to cut any contact with Greece, but on the contrary desiring his nephew Pantaleon to join him and follow his line, since his other nephew Panages had written to him about Pantaleon's intellectual interests and capacity.

We have three main sources of information on Galanos' life in Benares. A number of letters were included in the publication of his works. His editors C. Kozakis Typaldos, Ephore of the National Library assisted by the Keeper of Printed Books, G.A. Apostolides, edited, between 1841 and 1853, 7 Volumes, under the title "Forerunner of the Indian translations of Demetrius Galanos the Athenian".

Another selection of Letters can be found in "Indian Correspondence" by H. Tantalides, Constantinople 1852. This collection comprises 16 letters of Galanos and many of a close friend of his, Gregorius of Siphnos, Chaplain of the Greek Church at Dacca between 1812-1818. One of the things which these two men had in common was to have had great luck to be pupils of Daniel Kerameus, the famous Indian Guru at the renowned school at Patmos. In none of his letters, much is revealed about his

personal life or even his work. The other document which is very significant is his Last Will. After his insistence, his nephew arrived finally at Calcutta towards the end of December 1832. He immediately acknowledged his arrival and insisted upon his uncle to join him for their voyage back to Greece, as it was promised by Galanos in his letters; but though Galanos was very happy to hear his nephew arrived in Calcutta, instead of asking him to proceed to Benares, he insisted that he should stay there and learn Greek and English under the well-read man called Ananias. According to the Prodromos' introduction to a Galanos' letter of October 1, 1832 the political situation in Greece which was very confused persuaded Galanos to postpone his return.

A few months later Galanos fell seriously ill, and it is said he requested his nephew to proceed quickly to Benares. Having felt he was getting worse, he prepared and signed his last will, days before his death on 3rd May 1833, twenty days before Pantaleon could reach Benares as we are informed by Prodromos.

The investments he did with the guidance and help of Constantine Pandazis were excellent, since he left a very substantial sum of money. After having fulfilled what he thought would be his obligations, one half was given to his nephew Pantaleon Galanos and the other half to the Principal Academy of Athens to which he also left his "Sanskrit Books, Writings, translations and Meenskey's Dictionary in three volumes." We know that the "Principal Academy" became in 1837, the present University of Athens and Galanos is considered as one of its benefactors.

For most of our information we have to rely on Gennadios. He tells us in the '*Hellinismos*', that Galanos' books and writings went first to London and reached Greece only in 1837. In Athens in the library of the newly born University the MSS. were bound into volumes and due to the lack of specialists in Sanskrit, during the binding, mistakes were made in the sequence or the subject matter. Much later in 1892 the official catalogue of manuscripts held by the National Library of Greece appeared in Athens edited by I and A. Sakkelion.

In 1841 the Ephore of the National Library G. Kozakis Typaldos assisted by the Keeper of Printed Books, G. Apostolides started editing and publishing these manuscripts.

Galanos' MSS in the National Library of Athens are to be found today in the Library's catalogue of MSS in twenty volumes under the numbers 1836-1855. Of these MSS, ten have been published in 7 Volumes, and they are the Nr. 1842-1843, 1847-1848, 1849-1852, 1854-1855. It was an arduous work that G. Typaldos had undertaken spending most of his personal fortune in these publications. These 7 volumes appeared posthumously in Athens (1845-53), 12 years after Galanos' death. Typaldos had an extensive correspondence with the well-known Sanskritist Lassen seeking his advice.

I mentioned earlier Professor Siegfried A. Schultz and whoever in modern times will study Galanos' work, will have to refer to his exhaustive and enlightened articles.[3] I will anyhow like to discuss the work which has been done with some personal remarks.

(1) It was under the name "*Forerunner of Indian Translation of Demetrios Galanos*" that Vol. I appeared in Athens in 1845. Joh. Dumas was the editor of this first volume, in which at the beginning he gave a short biography of Galanos, some letters and his last will. The Greek translation of the Sanskrit texts contains :

(a) 330 verses from *Bhartṛhari's Nīti, Śṛṅgāra*, and *Vairāgya śatakas.*

(b) 86 verses (70 folios) of *Laghu-cāṇakya.*

(c) 98 verses from *Bhāminīvilāsa* by Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja (17th cent.). This is a text *first translated* by Galanos who certainly had at his diposal a MS, since this text has been published as late as 1862 in India and afterwards by Bergaigne in Paris in 1872.

(2) The second volume of the "*Forerunner*" edited by G. Typaldos (Athens 1847) is also a work translated *for the first time* by Galanos in a European language. The *Bālabhārata* by the Jaina Amaracandra Sūri, being a text of the 13th century from Gujerat, is an abridged version of the Mahābhārata and in this as in Vol. I of the "Forerunner", Galanos must have had access to a MS, since we know that this text has been published for the first time in the *Paṇḍit* of Benares in Volumes IV-VI as late as in 1869-1871 A.D.

(3) G. Typaldos had undertaken also to edit (Athens, 1848) the *Bhagavad Gītā*. As I mentioned the MS is dated Kashi, November 12, 1802 and it is the *second known* translation of the Gītā in a European language after the one Wilkinson did in 1785.

Since Galanos' Greek of the end of XVIII century A.D. was not accessible to all Greeks, an edition was published lately in which the translation of Galanos and a second one in Modern Greek of T. Vratsanos on the opposite page appeared (Athens, 1966). I can't say that it was a successful attempt, since both the introduction in the book and the Modern Greek translation are full of inaccuracies, mistakes and at times childish statements on Indian religion and philosophy.

(4) MS Nr. 1849 of the Catalogue of the National Library, comprising 203 folios was the *Raghuvaṃśa*, edited and published again by G. Typaldos (Athens, 1850).

(5) MS No. 1843 is an extremely interesting one, also edited and published by G. Typaldos as the fifth volume of the "*Forerunner*" (Athens, 1851). The "*Itihāsa-samuccaya*" according to the note on the MS of Galanos was finished in October 1824. In the long introduction of G. Typaldos we can follow his arduous search for the

Sanskrit MS of the translated text. Lassen, with whom he was corresponding, informed him that there was only one* manuscript known of this text in London, but never published, nor any details known about it. In March 1841, he impressed on Typaldos to publish it and highly praised Galanos' translation.*

In July 1974, I was for a month the guest of Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, who was very interested in the work of Galanos and also very intrigued from the way this pioneer's work in Sanskrit studies was never acknowledged. For years he had done efforts to find the Sanskrit MS of "Itihāsasamuccaya", without success. It seems, according to him that the Sanskrit MS has disappeared, or at best, could not be found in the collections of Sanskrit MSS known to him. He asked me to translate the Introduction and the translation of Galanos. For a week I was orally translating and he was taking notes. According to him, it seems, that it is a text in which the writer collected a number of ethics * from the Mahābhārata. Prof. S. K. Chatterji remarked that Galanos seems to have been particularly attracted to Mss. having to do with Dharmaśāstra and was never concerned with Vedic literature in general.

(6) The sixth volume of the "*Forerunner*" comprising MS Nos. 1842, (first part), 1850 and 1852 was also edited and published by G. Typaldos (Athens, 1851). It contains long extracts from *Hitopadeśa*, *Pañcatantra* and *Śukasaptati*.

(7) The last and seventh book of Galanos' translations to be edited and published by G. Typaldos and which appears as a third part of MS 1842, was *Devīmāhātmyam*, chapters 81-93 of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, being mentioned in Galanos' MS as "*Durgā*".

Here end the efforts of G. Typaldos who seems to have stopped because of lack of funds.

There is still a bulk of MSS lying unpublished in the National Library, most of them pertaining to an enormous and varied lexicographical work which seemed to be his main interest.

Typaldos announces in the introduction of Volume VII of the Greek translation of Devīmāhātmyam that he is unable to continue his efforts further on and has to give up his plans for publishing Galanos' translation of *Bhāgavata Purāṇam*. Besides the

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* *The New Catalogus Catalogorum* Vol. II, Ed. Dr. V. Raghavan, Madras University, 1966, p. 246 records nearly 100 MSS of the "Itihāsasamuccaya" as available in MSS. Libraries in India and outside. This work contains about 35 legends from the Mahābhārata. The Itihāsasamuccaya has been printed at Bombay, 1916. N.C.C. II also refers to the ed. by Typaldos with Galanos' Greek tr. (Athens. 1851).—Ed

financial reasons, there was another serious problem: the text is incomplete. As Typaldos states in the "Forerunner", "the remaining chapters were either not translated or were, as it is more likely, lost before the precious MS came into our hands".

But it seems that he was trying to find a solution. He had again extensive correspondence on the matter with Lassen, according to whom the European Indologists were awaiting impatiently this translation. He was also in contact with Eugene Burnouf who through Typaldos was acquainted with Galanos' translation and knowing Greek consulted it. Typaldos had great hopes in Burnouf's work feeling that it will be a help to fill Galanos' translation gaps. But Burnouf died without finishing '*The Histoire Poetique de Krishna*'. Only parts I-III appeared in Paris 1840-1847 and much later towards the end of XIX century; the rest was translated into French, by others.

An important part of Galanos' research is on lexicography; MS Nrs. 1836 to 1840 and MS 1833 deal with his lexicographical works. Obviously Galanos was an excellent "philologist", in the real and deep meaning the word had in XVIII century A.D. It isn't surprising, since as I mentioned he was trained by the outstanding grammarian Panagiotis Palamas at Messolonghi and the famous philologist Daniel Kerameus at the Patmian School. Possessing so deeply classical philology, it was but normal that once in Calcutta he acquired a philological knowledge of Sanskrit-Persian-Bengali-Hindustani and other vernaculars, which is testified by MS No. 1837 and No. 1838.

It is obvious that Galanos was not only aware of the late discoveries of the close relationship between the Indo-Aryan languages, recently proclaimed by William Jones in 1786 (Galanos had just reached Calcutta in 1786) but trained as he was in classical philology, he accepted, adopted and took even further the new discoveries. Persian-Sanskrit-Greek, Hindi-Bengali and other vernaculars are used in MS Nrs. 1837 and 1838. A valuable lexicon of Sanskrit synonyms in MS Nr. 1841 and though incomplete a unique Sanskrit-Greek glossary. This is unhappily incomplete but as Prof. Siegfried Schultz states it contains many unusual words which cannot be found in ordinary dictionaries and he feels that Weber did not inspect this MS or know about its existence since no entries of it were made in the shorter version of the St. Petersburg Dictionary.

This incomplete and short survey of the impressive work Demetrius Galanos left us is meant to introduce a very little known Greek Sanskritist and "Forerunner" of Sanskrit studies.

NOTES

[1] The Sinai Greek Orthodox Monastic order had its center in the Sinai Peninsula but Convents in Southern Europe, Athens, and Constantinople. Monastery St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai was also known as a Centre of *Hesychasm*. We of course do know about Galano's connection with them also from his correspondence with his nephew Pantaleon in December 1829 in which he is urging him to come and meet him in Benares and says he has already written to the fathers of Mt. Sinai about his requisites if he goes. The reference must be to the branch of Athens or Constantinople and not the main monastery in the Sinai Peninsula. Since to go from Greece to Calcutta through Sinai is a very complicated route.

[2] Gennadios maintains in the reprint of "Hellinismos" (February-April 1930 p. 11 f. in translation): "The grave of D.G., the Athenian is located in the Old Anglican Cemetery of Benares, to the left when one enters from the road through the gate; it is the ninth when one counts the graves from the entrance; under the second Nim tree by the road wall."

[3] Prof. Siegfried A. Schultz of the Catholic University of America devoted 3-4 years in studying and researching on Demetrius Galanos' life and work. The result of his long arduous and thorough research came out in three enlightened articles. Prof. S. A. Schultz is the only scholar up to now who studied so thoroughly Galanos' MS since he has the great advantage to be at ease both in Sanskrit and in Greek (Ancient and Modern). Everyone of us, who dealt with Galanos, owes a lot of the information known today (specially for the MS part) to Prof. S. A. Schultz, and I am particularly grateful to him. His enlightened articles are chronologically the following:

(a) "*A Greek in India: Galanos*" published in "*Bhāratī*", Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, No. 9 Pt. II, 1965-66; (b) "Demetrius Galanos (1760-1833): A Greek Indologist" published in JAOS, Vol. 89/Nr 2/April-June 1969; (c) "Demetrius Galanos, a Greek Scholar in India" published in "German Scholars in India" Contribution to Indian Studies, Volume II/1976/p. 252-263, Nachiketa Publications Ltd., 1976.

An Old Sinhalese Inscription from Arikamedu

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Eighteen Potsherds bearing graffiti consisting of very brief and mostly fragmentary inscriptions in the Brāhmī script were excavated in 1945 by Mortimer Wheeler at Arikamedu (Virampatnam) just south of Pondicherry (Wheeler, 1946). The excavations have proved that this site on the East Coast of South India was an important 'Indo-Roman Trading Station' which flourished during the first two centuries A.D. A few more pottery graffiti with similar Brāhmī inscriptions have also been found at Arikamedu by the French archaeologists who worked on the site both before and after Wheeler's major excavations (Casal, 1949). The Arikamedu graffiti, while few in number and insignificant in contents, have nevertheless proved to be of outstanding importance on account of their secure dating in the first two centuries A.D. for the study of the early Tamil-Brāhmī inscriptions (Mahadevan, 1971). In an earlier paper I have also identified Arikamedu (Virampatnam) with the old port Vīrai mentioned in the Sangam Tamil Works, e.g. *Akam*, 206 (Mahadevan, 1970.)

2. One of the graffiti published by Wheeler is in Prākṛt language and written in the Khushana Brāhmī script of First Century A.D. (Wheeler, 1946: No. 3). I have published another Prākṛt inscription on a Potsherd found earlier at Arikamedu belonging to the same age but written in Southern Brāhmī characters (Mahadevan, 1973), The rest of the Arikamedu graffiti (except a few which are too fragmentary to be read properly) have generally been considered to be in the Tamil language and written in the Tamil-Brāhmī script. I propose in the present paper to identify one of the graffiti found by Wheeler, which has so far been assumed to be in Tamil, as in fact written in Old Sinhalese language and belonging to the same age as the early cave inscriptions of Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

The inscription in question is incised on a potsherd bearing the excavation number AK V-117 and has been published as No. 18 in Wheeler's Report (*Ancient India, Vol.* 2 (1946) Fig. 47, P. 113). The pottery is of coarse fabric (Wheeler, 1946 : Type 24, illustrated in Fig. 19) which, according to Wheeler, was the most popular type found in Arikamedu and probably served as a cooking vessel. The sherd was found in the Northern Sector of the site to the south of the large building identified as a warehouse. The exact stratigraphy of this sherd is not recorded in the Report, but it is generally stated that all the graffiti belong to the first and the second Centuries A.D. (Wheeler, 1946 : P. 109).

The inscription incised on the sherd is a single word consisting of three characters in the Brāhmī script and appears to be a complete text (Fig. 1).

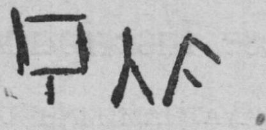


Fig. 1. Arikamedu Graffito

The earlier reading and interpretation by the team of epigraphists (B. C. Chhabra, N. P. Chakravarti, N. Lakshminarayana Rao and K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar) who edited the section on inscriptions in Wheeler's Report are reproduced below :

18 AK V-117 Three letters reading *buttā* i.e., the Tamil form of Buddha, the name of a woman.

This reading is suspect on several counts. Firstly, the term Buddha is never found in the feminine gender in the form *buddhā*. Secondly, if the word were in Tamil, one would expect the form *puttā* or *puttai* (cf. *tevva-tattai* for *Devadattā* in Wheeler 1946 : No. 19) rather than the hybrid form *buttā*. Lastly, the third letter at the right end is unlikely to be *tā* as the lower right limb is shorter than the left, while both limbs are generally of the same height in *tā*, and further as the upper right line slants downwards unlike the medial sign for—*ā* which is generally horizontal or occasionally slanting upwards.

The clue to what I now consider to be the correct reading came first from palaeographical considerations mentioned above ruling out the reading *tā* for the last letter. The letter is in fact *s'a* written in the linear form most frequently found in the early cave inscriptions of Ceylon. The identification becomes certain when one compares the last letter of this record (Fig. 1) with the first and last letters of the very frequent final word *S'agas'a* (Pkt., *Saghasa*, Skt., *Samghasya*) occurring in numerous cave inscriptions of Ceylon (Fig. 2).

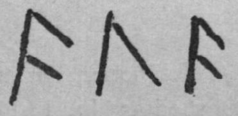


Fig. 2. Ceylon Cave Inscription

The epigraphists who edited this inscription earlier failed to recognise this letter correctly probably because *s'a* is not found in Prākṛt inscriptions (where the palatal sibilant *s'a* is replaced by the dental *sa*) and the form of the letter in Brāhmī and in the later derivative Indian scripts is generally curved like a horse-shoe unlike the linear form found in Ceylon. (Compare the Table in Sivaramamurti 1952, Fig. 59 for the Indian forms with the Chart in Paranavitana 1970 : opp. to p. xvi for the Old Sinhalese forms of the letter *s'a*). The comparison brings out the fact that the last letter of this Arikamedu inscription is in fact *s'a* written in the linear style of the early Ceylon cave inscriptions.

The revised reading of the text proposed by me is *bu ta śa*. The reading itself suggests that the language of the text cannot be Tamil and that it is in fact in the Old Sinhalese language. The identification of the language is certain because the revised reading conforms to the regular rules of phonology for ancient Sinhalese epigraphs as formulated by Paranavitana (*Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, PP. lxxviii-xciv; Early *Brāhmī Inscriptions*, pp. xviii-xxxviii). The relevant rules are as follows:

(i) *Loss of aspiration*:

Consonants which are aspirated in Old and Middle IA languages are found without aspiration in Old Sinhalese:—

Examples:

abhaya — *abaya*
dhama — *dama*
sagha — *śaga* (Fig. 2)

(ii) *Shortening of vowels*:

The long vowels of the Old and Middle IA languages are regularly shortened in Old Sinhalese. This change is universal and is in fact the most characteristic feature of the Old Sinhalese language.

Example:

āgata — *agata*
grāmaṇi — *gamani*
samghaya — *śagaya*

(iii) *Use of palatal for dental sibilant in genitive case-ending*:

The substitution of the dental sibilant *sa* with the palatal sibilant *śa* in genitive case-ending (*-sya* in skt. and *sa* in Pkt.) is characteristic of the earlier Ceylon Cave inscriptions.

Examples:

saghasa — *śagaśa* (Fig. 2)
putasa — *putaśa*
ganasa — *ganaśa*

It is also relevant here to notice that in the later Ceylon cave inscriptions, the use of the *śa* in the place of *sa* is generally avoided and the genitive case ending is transformed from *-śa* to *-ha*.

Examples:

Putaśa — *putaha*
gutaśa — *gutaha*

Applying the above three rules of phonology, we can equate the Arikamedu text with the corresponding Middle Indian Prākṛt and Sanskrit forms as follows.

Old Sinhalese	:	*bu ta śa*
Middle Indian Prākṛt	:	*bhū ta śa*
Sanskrit	:	*bhū ta sya*

Thus the word denotes a personal name *bhūta* in the genitive case (*bhūtasa*) and means (the vessel) of Bhūta.

With this identification, we can recognise the unique contribution of Arikamedu to South Asian epigraphical studies as we find here three or probably four variants of the Brāhmī script used to record three different languages, viz.

Language	Script	Examples
1. Middle Indian Prākṛt	Khushana Brāhmī	Wheeler (1946): No. 3
2. do	Southern Brāhmī	Mahadevan (1973): No. V
3. Tamil	Tamil-Brāhmī	Wheeler (1946): No. 9 Mahadevan (1973): No. II
4. Old Sinhalese	Ceylon Brāhmī	Wheeler (1946): No. 18

When we add to this list the Latin language in the Roman script also found at Arikamedu (Wheeler 1946: pl. XXIII), we get some idea of the unique importance of Arikamedu as an international trading centre and entrepot in South India around the turn of the Christian Era.

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Sumptuary Laws for Buddhist Novices

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Jayarakṣita's commentary [1] on Śrī-ghana's *Ācāra-saṃgraha* seems to have been written between A.D. 40 and 1000. His reference to a particular table of currency may help to date him more closely.[2] The *ślokas* have been lost, apart from quotations and *pratīkas*. We have little idea what Śrī-ghana wrote. The commentary explains words thought to be ambiguous, and we must be thankful that we have as much as we have. Three questions arise: (a) what sources did Śrī-ghana use, and how far was the learning reflected in this text representative of the *vinaya* which, as we know, was not systematically arranged in the case of novices?; (b) does Jayarakṣita throw light on the practices and outlook of his time?; and (c) how many of the principles and precepts kept contact with Hindu learning in related contexts? The Buddha adopted and adapted ancient Hindu notions, in order that the *saṅgha* should not be an unfavourable, or a disadvantaged alternative to what Hinduism in any of its early forms then offered. The principle must have persisted long after his time, and, as Hinduism developed, corresponding developments ought to have occurred even within so conservative a discipline as the *vinaya*.

We are concerned with the discipline of novices. They were a variety of ascetics, not yet *full* members of the *saṅgha*. The reason why apprentices have to live austere and deprived lives, whether as Hindu pupils of a celebrated Vedic specialist, or as Buddhist novices, or, for that matter, as eighteenth-century artisans in London, is really that in order to make the system of education and training effective, a strict, obvious, *visible* distinction has to be drawn between the immature and the mature state. Biologically the pupil may be ready to marry and take on the pleasures and pains of a home which he can maintain by his earnings. His enjoyments would then symbolise his attainment of his purpose. But there is more to it than that. Power and responsibility go together, and signs of power are characteristically regulated and hierarchical. The person who trains the untrained bears symbols of his own status and achievement (like the Roman

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[1] Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācāra-saṅgraha-ṭīkā, ed. Sanghasena (Patna, 1968). See A. S. Altekar, 'Cultural importance of Sanskrit literature preserved in Tibet,' A.B.O.R.I., 35 (1954), 54-66 at 63ff. I have dealt with this text at 'Mṛṣā-vāda-virati,' Vishveshvaranand Indological Papers Series 491, Vishveshvaranand Indo. J. 18 (1980), 277-284; also 'Adattādānam: valuable Buddhist casuistry', Indol. Taur. 7 (1979), pt. I (Ludwik Sternbach Felicitation Vol.), 181-194.

[2] 19 paṇas of cowries to the kārṣāpaṇa: see adattādāna-virati, paras. 3. 42.

toga virilis): he cannot relate himself paternally to the apprentice if the latter, as it were in competition with himself, bears signs of equality with him. So the distinctions in garb and consumption, particularly conspicuous consumption, between a teacher and a pupil collectively correspond to the psychological motivation of both.

Buddhist monks are permanent ascetics: what is relevant here is the 'visibility' of distinctions between the monk himself and the layman. Other religions too, even those which have no professional ascetics, adopt differential garbs to assert claims to differential 'holiness'. When the Buddhist novice undertakes ten vows of abstention (*śikṣāpadas*), which in fact introduce him sensibly to the permanent and further-reaching restraints of the monk, he is undertaking a 'visibility' distancing him rather from the *layman* than from the monks who are his preceptors and mentors. We shall consider three of the ten here; they speak for themselves.

I. *uccaśayana-mahāśayana-virati* [1] (no. vi).

Uccaśayana means literally a 'high couch', but this means any couch higher (from the ground) than eight finger-breadth's of the Buddha, 24 finger-breadths of an ordinary person (!). *Mahāśayana* means literally a 'great couch', but here it means a couch made of gold or silver. Śrī-ghana obviously took the view that seats came within this topic, and went on to deal with allocation of cells. Relative status is after all the gist of the matter. The height of the couch above ground is determined by the length of the legs; these must not be more than 18 inches long (which is high!), roughly a cubit (*hasta, pramāṇam*). The novice may sit or recline on a dais or throne a cubit off the ground *not* counting the rope stringing (which naturally sags lower). It is a *duṣkṛtam* to sit on a high dais or throne. Even if the bed etc., is *within* the cubit in height it is forbidden to make it of gold or silver. The reason is that he may *touch* gold or silver accidentally with (i) the body, e.g., hand, foot, etc., (ii) his clothing; or (iii) his parasol, etc., which is forbidden. If touching is forbidden, utilising it is *a fortiori* disallowed! Could beds and seats made of gold or silver be sat on if they belonged to the *saṅgha*, on the basis that only individual beds are forbidden? Some make this distinction: wrongly; without exception gold and silver must not be touched whether they belong to the *saṅgha*, or an individual. One must continue to try to be watchful.[2]

One must not sit on a bed, etc., of canonical height without a rug or coverlet. The ascetic must put one on, not made of grass or leaves, but of a cloth spread out. Thin cloth may be spread threefold, coarse cloth twofold, and blankets with a single thickness. The number of folds depends on the type of cover.

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[1] p. 61 of the edn. For the subject see C. S. Upasak, Dictionary of Early Buddhist Monastic Terms (Benares, 1975), 39.

[2] Tasmāt parihārāya yatna āsteyaḥ (? āstheyaḥ).

What should one do about beds and seats that belong to the *saṅgha* and are too high? The legs of such beds, etc., should be fixed into thrones or inside hollow bed-legs. Ascetics can utilise beds, etc., belonging to the *saṅgha*. Alternatively one can fix the legs of excessive length with four bolts. It is not elear by whom or how. Now the allotment of the *saṅgha's* beds etc., is dealt with later. If a platform is constructed with long legs to protect sugarcane, barley, wheat, etc., from rats, etc., an ascetic on a journey can sleep on it. But assuming he uses a bed etc., belonging to a layman, he must not lengthen its legs, lest (and these are Śrī-ghana's expressions) the public should ridicule him.[1]

The *saṅgha's vihāras* (cells) should be allotted on the basis of the novices' seniority by ordination. Where novices are many and cells few or small, up to twelve novices can be allotted to a cell, but even so at least a cubit less the fist (14 inches of space) should be allotted to each novice! If the cells are more numerous than the novices, each of the latter could have several cells to move about in. If beds etc., are few relative to the number of novices, the senior may sleep on a dais, the junior on a bench. If there is not enough to go round, the *saṅgha's* beds, etc., should be allocated on the principle of seniority so that, as it were, the senior sleeps at the root of a tree while the junior sleeps out in the open. A senior monk should not ordain a fellow *brahmacārī* during the rainy season (and so exacerbate accommodation problems or cause sleeping places to be reallocated). It is a wrong-doing to ordain one. Allotment of beds and seats is necessary, says Śrī-ghana in a lost *śloka*, not to accustom particular members to luxury, but to protect enjoyment such as makes for the perfection of those who will cut the fetters and so establish the self.[2]

Should all the cells be allocated? No, rather it is a question of their quality. Where the cells are more than the ascetics the former should be categorised for the accommodation of monks who come. Allocation should be made in order of seniority,[3] but starting with the youngest. The best cell should be allocated to the senior arrival, the middle to the junior, and the worst to the very juniormost.

What is the reason why the basic prohibitions were made by the Buddha? Because an excessively high bed. etc., causes pride and conceit in the novice or is an occasion for the public's derision.

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[1] *mā bhūj janāvadhyānam.*

[2] [? *saṃskāra-paripālana*] : saṃskāretyādi, chinnagranthyādi-karanaṃ *saṃskāraḥ*-tatra svātmāvasthitiḥ paribhogaḥ. *paripālanaṃ* saṃrakṣaṇaṃ.

[3] On respect for seniority see CV VI. 6. 4, esp. : . . . aggāsanam . . . yathāvuḍḍham *paṭibāhitabbam.* See Gilgit MSS., ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, III/3 (Srinagar, 1943), 121-144 (*Śayanāsana-vastu*) p, 123.

(a) The *vinaya* is rich on this subject, and there is much the text does not reproduce, as well as details not in the *vinaya* which I have to hand. The text omits the nineteen types of couches, coverings or mattresses forbidden. Offences by monks in this context form *pācittiya* (Pali) no. 87. The distinction between sitting and sleeping on a visit to a householder is omitted, like the fact that notched ends may be excluded from the computation of finger-breadths. The list of beds and chairs allowed to the *saṅgha* is omitted. There is correspondence however between our text and Cullavagga VI. 2. 5. *Dīgha-nikāya* i. 7 deals with high and great couches. A layman observing *uposatha* should abstain from the same.

Allotment of space is dealt with at Cullavagga IV. 4, 3ff VI. 6. 4, cf. VI. 7. Property made on purpose for the *saṅgha* was not to be allocated on the principle of seniority amongst monks (and no doubt beds etc., made specifically for a single monk?) (ibid.). At CV. VI. 11-13, 15 accommodation problems are dealt with in more detail. When places were unallotted the allotment could be according to cells ; if there were spare cells, each monk might have more than one. Allotment should be fixed only during the rainy season. A late arrival is not entitled to allotment ; no one can have two lodging-places ; two monks may sit on the same seat if within three years of seniority of each other. Unsuitable furniture received by the *saṅgha* is to be adapted (CV. VI. 14). Travellers are to be shown their beds (by novices, who are in charge of this), and told about occupancy of rooms—this is where the *saṅgha's* equipment becomes important (CV. VIII. 3).

(b) It is evident that travelling monks were not very numerous by the time of this text ; yet the re-allocation of sleeping places and beds for the rain retreat implies that informal and *ad hoc* associations of monks in monasteries had not disappeared, and must still be provided for. One gets the impression that novices were not all that common : and if recruits were not very common the *saṅgha* itself was not very substantial ; yet there is no suggestion that the institution was waning—indeed the very appearance of this treatise suggests the reverse. It is clear that even novices were capable of expecting to be treated with honour by householders, and had to be careful as to the lengths of the legs of beds they lay on for a siesta ! Like monks they must be careful to avoid lying on beds of uncanonical height, though they might sit on them ! There is no need for the novice to be concerned about the large variety of beds and couches, covers and coverlets which the monk must avoid according to *vinaya*. Perhaps the requirements of the *saṅgha* were, by this time, common knowledge. However, the possibility of beds and seats ornamented with gold and silver being given to the *saṅgha* was still to be taken seriously-

(c) As for the Hindu learning, Āpastamba I. 2.8.8 provides that the *brahmacārī* must not sit higher than his teacher, nor (ibid., 9) must his seat have more legs, nor must the seat be more firmly fixed (10). He may not share a seat with his teacher. The *brahmacārī* must, thus, not be better or more honourably seated than his teacher. Manu

says (II. 119) he must not sit on a couch or seat occupied by a superior (or senior) so as to share it. At II. 198 he says, 'while his teacher is near, his bed or seat shall be low (in both cases *śayyāsana*, not our *śayanāsana*, though the meaning is the same). It is a matter principally of etiquette. In comparison with the teacher's his seat or bed must be low (Kullūka: *guruśayyāsanāpekṣayā nīce eva śayyāsane . . . syātām*). See also Ap. I. 2, 21.6. 13-17; Gaut. II, 14-15, 21; Viṣṇu XXVIII. 12, 13. The *dharmaśāstra* position is that he must not arrogate to himself a status superior to his teacher or senior. Even the circumstances when he may sit *with* his teacher are listed (Manu II. 204). The Buddhist position is that a novice (as later in his capacity as monk) must eschew symbols of status, and be subject to a moderate degree of humility. The Buddha was certainly aware of the Hindu notion for he allows junior monks who instruct senior monks and senior monks undergoing instruction from juniors to sit on seats of equal height (CV VI. 13); But a *pārivāsika* monk (under suspension) must sit at a lower level [1].

II. *nṛtta-gīta-vāditra-viśoka-darśana-virati* (no. vii).

Flinging the arms about is 'dancing': the Buddha called it craziness.[2] 'Singing' would be the lamentation, i.e., crying, of those who have rooted out the roots of all misery and are skilled at stripping the leaves of ignorance.[3] The Blessed One therefore said no ascetic should play the veena, flute, mridanga, or any other musical instrument. Where men and women are carefree and have gone to some place (for amusement as at a festival) the place is called 'carefree' (*viśoka*) and the ascetic must not visit it. If any novice is feeling jolly and dances, sings or plays a musical instrument, it is a wrong-doing.

(a) We are in the presence of a prohibition the exact scope of which seems to have been in doubt by our time, and perhaps for long previously. Was the prohibition originally of performing, participating, or merely watching? Or was it of both? In order to understand prohibitions of any kind it is desirable to consider the consequences if they were observed. If all forms of participation in music, dancing, etc. (including the theatre) are eschewed one thereby intensifies the distance from the laity, avoids association with cults of gods and demons, and is motivated to enhance the entertainment value of Buddhist practices and embellishments, e.g. chanting of *sūtras* and organisation of ritual exchanges with the laity whether at the monastery or at their homes and other conventional meeting places.

CV V.2.6 forbids *going to see* dancing, singing, or music. The Chabbaggiya monk (as usual) went to a festival at the mountain-top at Rājagṛha (I wonder if there was one). The public were indignant (the usual occasion for the Buddha's 'legislation'):

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[1] Ibid., *pārivāsika-vastu*.

[2] unmattatvam. This does not mean that non-crazy dancing is allowed!

[3] yaccoccaiḥsvareṇa gītam etad āryāṇāṃ samunmūlitākhilākuśala-mūlānām ajñāna-paṭala-paṭūnāṃ ruditaṃ kranditam iti.

these *bhikkhus* behaved like people enjoying the pleasures of the world (the usual complaint). Nuns' *pācittiya* 10 is in very similar terms. What is forbidden is thus going to see dancing etc. The seventh *virati* does indeed suggest seeing *(darśana)* dancing etc., but the traditional rendering of *nacca-gīta-vādita-visoka-dassanā* (MV I. 56) is 'dancing, singing, music, and seeing spectacles. See VA 925. So the phrase appears at Dīgh. N. I. 5; Aṅg. N. 1. 212, 2.209. It will be observed at Dīgh. N. I. 5, 10 that the Buddha is praised for (1) not being a spectator at shows with dancing, singing, and music, (2) abstaining from wearing, adorning, and ornamenting himself with garlands, scents and unguents, (3) using lofty or large beds (sic). The order of words in the Pāli is similar to our *viratis*. Gotama does not visit shows: Dīgh. N. I. 6, including musical shows. At Aṅg. N. I, 212, 15 a lay person keeps *uposatha* by abstaining from *nacca-gīta*, etc., and *mālā-gandha*, etc., mentioned in that order. At Aṅg. N. II. 209,9 the monk abstains from *nacca-gīta*, etc., *mālā-gandha*, etc., *uccaśayana*, etc., in that order.

(b) One gets little impression of the condition of monasteries of our author's day from this *virati*, save the reflection that the young novices must have been seriously constrained if they could not demonstrate in conventional ways that they are 'feeling jolly'. Perhaps persons much inclined to 'feeling jolly' would not become novices. At any rate they were prohibited not so much from attending entertainments of these types, but from performing in them. This would have the effect of restraining monks from accepting as novices gifted youths who might become skilled at amusing them, and attracting visitors (on those grounds) to the monastery. The ostensible reason was that people would not like their monks, who enabled them to 'make merit', to enjoy the pleasures of the world.

(c) One would think that this taboo would hardly apply to *brahmacārīs*. The *Gopatha-brāhmaṇa* I. 2. 7 forbids the student 'lying higher up', singing, dancing, running, spitting. If he lies higher up his 'dwellings' are born repeatedly; if he sings they run on continually with lamenting (note a point of contact with our text); if he dances they constantly carry out dead people; if he runs they cohabit with creatures; if he spits, only into the midst of himself (but a *mantra* avoids this). Ap. I. 1.3, 11 forbids *looking* at dancing (*anṛtta-darśī*). Dancing itself, singing, and playing musical instruments is forbidden by Gaut. II. 13 (Haradatta I. 2, 19, Maskarī 2.19). So Viṣṇu 28.11, Baudh. I. 2, 3.24 (Govindaswāmī III. 25). Manu at II. 178 ends the passage on abstentions with *nartanaṃ gītavādanam*. The order is identical with ours and this can hardly be a coincidence. Kullūka explains that playing the veena or the drum must be avoided. Medhātithi on Manu II. 178 says all acting in dramas is forbidden, dancing to amuse people, and musical performances.[1]

[1] P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra* II/1, 2nd edn. (Poona, 1974) mentions the topic very cursorily at p. 305. The anthropological aspects never interested Kane.

III. *gandha-mālya-vilepana-virati* (no. viii).[1]

The novice *can* wear perfume such as sandal, etc., if he is sick! If the physician so orders. But a method must be observed: first the perfume must be offered to the Buddha, and then he may put it on, not otherwise. In a place open to the public he must not remain, even if sick, with his limbs smeared with sandal paste, etc. If he wants to go outside he must wash first. Likewise he may wear a flower garland, provided he first offers it to the Buddha, if he is sick. If an ascetic is often afflicted with eye-ache, violent headache, or the onslaught of the female demon Pūtanā he may wear a flower-garland on the head. He must not make a girdle of it.

An ascetic must not anoint a limb, i.e., his face, etc., with the powder of yellow orpiment or sandal (or other sweet-smelling) oil because of its colour or to complete his toilet.

Why did the Buddha forbid dancing and the rest? Dancing, singing, playing instruments, watching 'carefree' (performances), wearing scented garlands and unguents create emotions unbecoming in an asectic, encouraging conceit enraging the public, i.e. causing it to despise him, and therefore they are blamed.

By the way, there is a further prohibition. One must not look at one's face in a mirror, oil or water-vessel. No one may look at it except one who is sick with a pain in the head, caused by a wound in the head due to a boil, etc. The ascetic must not adorn his face with oil, nor even with water: unless his face has broken out or he has a head-disease. An ascetic cannot adorn his face with the powder of sandal or saffron; he is, however, allowed to place a sesamum-poultice or the like on a boil to soothe it. But if he fails to observe this rule because of laxity or the like, it is a wrong-doing.

(a) Anointing the face and painting the body is forbidden at CV V. 2.5 (nuns. CV X. 10.3—no doubt it was a greater deprivation for them). But it is allowed in a case of eye-disease. A list of unguents and cosmetics allowed to sick monks appears at MV 5. 11. CV V. 2.4 forbids looking at the face in a mirror or a bowl of water. An oil-container is not mentioned. Looking at the reflection of the face *is* permitted on account of a disease, if a monk did not believe other's reports on the sore he had on his face. The Buddha himself abstains from *mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūsana-ṭṭhānā* (Dīgh. N. I. 5.10). His general aloofness from adornments and cosmetics is stated loosely at Dīgh. N. I. 7.

(b) I well believe that with a restricted and poorly-balanced diet, and with razors not always sterilised, monks well might have headaches, bowel-complaints leading to such symptoms, migraine (which is associated with unsuitable mixtures of foods), and above all, boils and skin-diseases. The taboo on looking at the face, however,

[1] p. 66 of the edn.

has, *as such* no connection with adornments; though obviously if one is concerned to adorn oneself a mirror is handy! Washing the face carefully, or as a form of adornment (surely the most basic?), would come within the Buddhist taboos on monks' hygiene. Avoiding the ascetic practices known in India, even to this day, of extreme squalor, and avoiding the quite ordinary enjoyments of people above the line of utter poverty—washing well, putting on freshly laundered clothing, adorning the person with scents and flowers—the Buddhist monk took, characteristically, a middle path.

(c) Anointing himself (particularly the head) with perfumes or oils, embellishing himself and wearing garlands are forbidden to the *brahmacārī* while *living with his teacher* at Āp. I. 1, 2.25, 27, I. 2.8, 2-3. The other items make it clear that it is a sumptuary principle adopted out of respect for the senior. Sandal provides the chief illustration. Ujjvalā on Āp. I. 2.8, 2-3 explains that the 'head' is mentioned only to illustrate the general proposition. The hair of the head or moustache is not to be anointed with *āmalaka*, etc. He should not wear garlands or ointment or embellishment in any place where he may be seen by seniors from his *ācārya* downwards. Anointing is forbidden by Viṣṇu XXVIII. 11; ointment, perfumes and garlands by Gaut. II. 13, Baudh, I. 2.3, 24, Yājñ. I. 33 as understood at *Bālakrīḍā* on 32. The latter happily adds that if health requires it ointments are permissible. Cf. Vas. VII. 15. Manu II. 177-8 lists the *brahmacārī's* abstentions from honey to playing musical instruments. One notices how closely these ascetic rules agree with our list for *śrāmaṇeras*, but the latter, of course, are not forbidden to use shoes and a parasol. Spice and juices are included by Manu and those too are not forbidden in our text. Medhātithi on Manu II. 177 explains that what is forbidden is the intentional use of fragrant incense, etc., as a luxury. The smell of such flowers as do not exhilarate is not prohibited. On II. 178 he explains that the use of oil or collyrium for medical reasons is not forbidden.

Conclusion:

The Hindu *brahmacārī*, or apprentice in Vedic learning, had to abstain from many, if not all, forms of conspicuous consumption. Several of the taboos incidentally assist concentration, and effectively enable the teacher to perform his function. Eagerness to 'graduate', as it were, and to attain maturity and householder status indirectly assists the learning process, and the uniform abstention from adult habits, even the habits of quite modestly-provided people, fits the status of the student, and not least of all, the student who learns in groups under the same teacher. That the system had a great deal of sense no one will deny, and other cultures have spontaneously developed similar techniques. However, the taboos did not originate primarily from such prudent or reflective considerations. Notice how in modern India the student is not supposed to smoke and drink; but the taboo really comes alive when the presence of seniors is added as a factor. We note how young couples, in the householder status already, are not supposed to show sexual inclinations towards each other (though licit in themselves) *in the presence of elders*.

The Hindu rules appear to be concerned primarily to create a visible distinction of status. The coincidence between the Hindu rules relative to a *brahmacāri* and the Buddhist rules relative to a novice is no accident, but it is instructive in this way—the Buddha (for we suppose it was he) wanted to avoid public disapprobation of monks, and this would automatically embrace novices to a great extent. The public want to 'make merit', and this means that the *saṅgha* in which they have 'taken refuge' must be up to their expectations as a receptacle or fount of merit. Given that the Buddha's 'way' is a middle path, the novices must, whatever their age, show the same restraints which Vedicl students show (within limits, which will originally have been thought out). But there is a basic difference. Whereas the *brahmacārī* is under restraints only relative to his teacher and effective seniors, so long as he is under the age of marriage and in a real or virtua tutelage, the novice, preparing himself to be, not a householder, but a monk, observes the same group of taboos *in order to abase himself before the public at large.* These are the conventional visible signs of not participating in the householder's style of living. As we are explicitly told in our text the novice must so comport himself as to avoid public reprobation, and, so far as he is concerned, to avoid conceit and self-satisfaction.

The Significance of Tāla and Laya in Indian Music

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The whole structure of Indian music is based on Svara and Tāla. As per Mataṅga's[1] definition, "Svara is so called as it shines itself." The word Svara is derived in this definition from sva and rāj. It is the sound that produces the rāga (i.e., charm). Abhinava[2] mentions one explanation deriving it from the root svṛ meaning to sound or to warm and from svara in the sense of ākṣepa (i.e. applying or pointing to). "Svaras are so called as they warm the state of mind, characterised by sound, making it give up its equipoise and thus due to extreme charm they point to their own existence in manifesting their respective domain or scope." According to him, "Svara is the tone that is creamy and charming, being of the nature of anuraṇana (resonance), arising out of the sound produced by the stroke at the place of Śruti". Similar is the explanation of Śārṅgadeva. He says,[3] "Immediately consequent upon Śruti, the sound, creamy and resonating, that delights the listener's mind by itself is called Svara". Here the derivation is from Sva+rañj,

The musical notes appeal to the mind of the listener, mainly because of their resonant quality. When any sound is produced it will last for some time and then disappear. Thus, in the employment of notes in music the element of time-measure is always there. The unit of time-measure is called mātrā (from mā to measure).

There were mainly three types of units of time-measure in Vedic music,[4] hrasva (i.e., laghu), dīrgha (i.e., guru), and pluta. Hrasva is the time-measure of one mātrā, dīrgha of two mātrās and pluta of three mātrās. Mātrā was the measure of time required for the utterance of one short syllable.

In Sāmagāna, which is the earliest Indian music available for study, the time-measure of mātrās was important. Oṁ was of 3½ mātrās. Pluta and vṛddha were of three mātrās each. Hrasva+2 mātrās formed pluta, and dīrgha+1 mātrā vṛddha. There was the employment of ½ and ¼ mātrā also. There is duple and triple repetition as well, in Sāmagāna e.g., $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$yā²ī / $\overset{1}{\text{to}}$yā²ī / ; hāu, hāu hāu. There is stop after each parvan (i.e., section), e.g. $\overset{4}{\text{O}}$gnāi. This parvan has six mātrās, O of three mātrās, gnā of 2 or 2½ mātrās and i of one or 1½ mātrās. The term vṛtti indicated the mode of singing Sāman as fast, medium and slow. While teaching[5] the students the tempo should be slow, in performance (of the sacrifices), it should be medium and in one's daily practice (svādhyāya) it should be fast.

We do not get the concept of Tāla in Sāman music. We meet this concept clearly first in the Nāṭyaśāstra. The mātrā,[6] i.e., the measure of laghu in music is of the duration of five nimeṣas which is equivalent to the time required for the utterance of five short syllables. Dr. Gokhale[7] has considered the ancient scientific texts and the practical viewpoint and has come to the conclusion that the measure of a mātrā would be 4/9 second or about half a second. The Sangeet Natak Akademi has favoured the view of one mātrā being equal to one second. During one second the utterance of five short syllables is easily possible.

In tāla we get the cycle of particular number of mātrās. The word tāla is derived from the root[8] 'tal' meaning to establish or to make stable. By the time-measures used in the tāla the song becomes well established. The word tāla is derived from [9] 'tala' (the palm of the hand) also. Tāla is shown by the clapping, hence this etymology is given.

Time is, in reality, beginningless and endless. But when anything is produced, we call the point of its production the beginning of that thing; and when the thing is destroyed, we call it as the time of its end. Between the beginning and the end we have the time of the existence of that thing. Thus, the continuous time-element has superimposed divisions. That is why the musical notes can be stated to have time-measures. The notes in music with their qualities of pitch, timbre and loudness, when employed with various modulations (called kāku), bring about the desired striking effect in the mind of the listener. Such striking effect of the notes having delightful arrangement, brings about the existence of Rāga, as it colours or gladdens the mind of the listener. The musical notes used in the Ālāpa of a rāga without tāla have also time-measures; but when they are accompanied by tāla, the music becomes firmly established.

"Tāla is an orderly sequence of fixed finite durations". "It is a complex organisation of different beats in multiple groupings." These are again subdivided by the individual components of the beat, the fractional mātrās. Laya is the tempo of the music. Abhinava derives it from lī[10] meaning 'to join'. The tāla is indicated by the actions of the hand like clapping or the striking of the cymbals. Cymbals are also called Tāla. When this action produces the beat, there is a compulsory gap between the first beat and the next. This gap joins as it were the end of the first beat and the beginning of the next beat. It can also be looked upon as the time in which there is the merger of the first beat. Hence, laya is commonly understood as the time of merging. As per the duration of this gap as slow, medium and fast the laya of the tāla is inderstood as vilambita (slow), madhya (medium), and druta (fast). These layas will have relatively proportionate time-values. Druta will have half the time-measure of madhya laya and madhya will have half the time-measure of vilambita.

In ancient Indian music there was twofold basis of tālas—caturasra and tryasra, having respectively time-measures of four gurus and three gurus. The former was named

Caccatpuṭa and the latter, Cācapuṭa. There were eight pātas used to indicate tāla ; four of them were with sound and four without sound. Among the sounding pātas, śamyā was the clapping by the palm of the right hand striking on the palm of the left hand. tāla was clapping by the palm of the left hand striking on the palm of the right hand ; sannipāta was clapping with both hands together held in front and dhruva was the snapping of fingers.

Among the soundless pātas, āvāpa was the contracting of fingers with the palm turned upwards; niṣkrāma was spreading fingers with the palm turned downwards; vikṣepa was moving swiftly the hand as in niṣkrāma to the right and praveśa was taking back the hand pointing downwards. Dhruva pāta was used in specific cases, having dhruva mārga. Mārgas are connected with fixing the duration of the kriyās (i.e., actions producing beats). In citra mārga the kalā was of two mātrās, in vārtika of four mātrās and in dakṣiṇa of eight mātrās. Kalā means guru; but its time-measure differed according to mārgas. e.g. Caccatpuṭa in citramārga will have two kriyās of two mātrās each, one kriyā of one mātrā and the last one of three mātrās. The different employment of the three layas are named as yati (from 'yam' meaning 'to control'). When in the beginning, middle and the end, the same laya is kept, it is called samayati. In srotogata (which is like a stream), the order of the layas is like vilambita, madhya-druta etc. In Gopuccha the order is like druta-madhya-vilambita etc. These three yatis are given in the Nāṭya-śāstra. There are two other yatis also. In Mṛdaṅga yati (like mṛdaṅga, larger in the middle), the order is druta-vilambita-druta etc., and in Pipīlikā yati (like an ant, smaller in the middle), the order is vilambita-druta-vilambita etc. The parts of tāla are variously given in prastāra keeping the time-measure of that tāla The kāla, aṅga (the time-measure like druta, laghu etc.), kriyā, mārga, jāti (tryasra & caturasra), kalā, graha, laya, yati and prastāra, these ten are called the vital breaths of tāla. When the music and tāla start simultaneously, it is called samagraha or samapāṇi ; tāla starts first and then music, in anāgata graha or uparipāṇi and music starts first and then the tāla starts in atītagraha or avapāṇi. The tālas were written with (laghu), (guru) and (pluta) and the beats by their first syllables :—

e.g. Caccatpuṭa Ekakala — s s | s
sam śa tā śa = 8 mātrās

or, śa tā śa tā

or, tā śa tā śa.

,, Dvikala — s s s s s s s s
ni śa ni tā śa pra ni sam = 16 mātrās.

,, Catuṣkala — s s s s s s s s
ā ni vi śa ā ni vi tā = 32 mātrās.

s s s s s s s s
ā śa vi pra ā ni vi sam

The employment of mārjanās in the Mṛdaṅga-playing brought out the svara-element in tāla conducive to the melodic movement. The employment of different syllabic sounds and strokes gave rise to the four mārgas of Mṛdaṅga-playing. There were three modes in music called trigata. In tattva, song and instrumental music closely followed each other; in anugata, the instrumental music accompanied the song and in ogha after the song, the instrumental music continued in fast tempo. The mṛdaṅga was played by striking the face with full palm, half of the palm, side of the hand, the index finger etc., creating variety in the syllabic sounds produced. There were the various embellishments due to different combinations of syllabic beats called vākkaraṇas. Out of the four[11] mārgas of mṛdaṅga-playing, the Aḍḍita was to be employed in the case of the Erotic and the Comic sentiments, Vitasta in the case of the Heroic, the Marvellous and the Furious sentiments, Ālipta mārga in the Pathetic sentiment and Gomukha or Gomukhī in the Odious and the Terrible sentiments. Slow tempo would be conducive to augment the state of sorrow, medium to augment the Erotic and druta to augment the Heroic, the Terrific etc. The Nāṭyaśāstra [12] says in regard to the dhruvās, that the sthitā of slow tempo should be employed in the case of longing, anxiety, dejection etc.; drutā of fast tempo in the case of confusion, excessive joy, anger etc.; prāsādikī in medium tempo in love, pacification, entreaty etc.

The tāla was maintained by the singer with the hand movements. The cymbal-player indicated it by beating a pair of cymbals. The beats of the cymbals provided the tāla more clearly and correctly. They simply pointed to the time-measure. But the syllabic sounds produced on mṛdaṅga lent striking charm to the tāla expression. The melodic aspects and the verbal aspects of the song were perfectly coordinated by tāla providing the sāmya (i e., evenness) in music. The ancient tāla-system did not have the same tāla-cycle repeated again and again throughout the music as is seen in the present practice. This can be known from the presentation of tālas for a song given in the ancient system. The tāla-system denoted the entire span of time-units, which was co-extensive with the entire song.

The ancient tālas were later called mārga-tālas, as they were handed down traditionally with the fixed course. The divisions of time as laghu, guru and pluta were there, but not that of druta and anudruta which were in vogue in Deśī music. Due to the breaking of laghu, guru etc., in smaller time-measures, the variety of tālas was achieved in popular music. The breaking of guru etc., was seen since the period of the Nāṭyaśāstra in the karaṇas of the vīṇā-playing. When one guru was played on the principal vīṇā, two laghus were to be played on the other vīṇā in one type of karaṇa; while in another type, when two laghus were played on the principal vīṇā, one guru was played on the other vīṇā; in still another karaṇa when the principal vīṇā-player played two gurus, then the other vīṇā-player employed pluta and laghu. Thus the breaking (bhaṅga) of guru and pluta was effected in vīṇā-playing. Abhinava includes in this, breaking of laghu into two drutas also. This gradually led to the great variety of tālas due to regional influence. As the laya of metres was the starting point of tāla in Indian music, the breaking of guru etc.,

was natural, when instead of one long syllable, two short syllables were used in metrical structure. The Deśī tālas given by Śārṅgadeva are 120. He says [13], though many more are possible, they are not given by him as they are not well-known.

After the tāla-action like clapping or beating of cymbals, virāma (i.e., stop) is necessary. Hence, this time-lag was also an inevitable feature while dealing with tālas. Though the basic principles of the tālas in the Hindustani and Karnatak music are not different, still the present practice in Hindustani system differs very much from that in the Karnatak system. The Karnatak practice gives tālas by laghu, druta and virāma. Virāma is ½ of druta. Laghu is of tisra type (3 mātrās), caturasra (4 mātrās), khaṇḍa 5 mātrās), miśra (7 mātrās) and saṁkīrṇa (9 mātrās). The values of druta and anudruta do not change.

Northern Indian tāla-system has the cycles of specific numbers of mātrās like 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16 etc. The tāla is indicated by the tabla-pair, with syllabic beats. The word ṭhekā in Hindustani music means the employment of syllabic sounds on the drum in the place of the mātrās, e.g.—

Dādrā — 1 2 3 4 5 6 = 6 mātrās.
dhā gī nā dhā tū nā

Kahrvā — 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 = 8 mātrās.
dhā gī na ti na ka dhin s

Rūpaka — 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 = 7 mātrās.
tī tī nā dhī nā dhī nā

Jhaptāla — 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 = 10 mātrās.
dhī nā dhī dhī nā tī nā dhī dhī nā

Ekatāla — 1 2 3 4 5 6
dhin dhin dhāgī traka tū nā
7 8 9 10 11 12 = 12 mātrās.
ka ttā dhāgī traka dhī nā

Deepachandī — 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
dhā tīn s dhā ge tīn s
8 9 10 11 12 13 14 = 14 mātrās.
tā tīn s dhā ke dhīn s

Tritāla — 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
dhā dhin dhin dhā dhā dhin dhin dhā
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 = 16 mātrās.
dhā tin tin tā tā dhin dhin dhā

Punjābī	—	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8			
		dhā	gadhī	ga	dhā	dhā	kati	ka	tā			
		9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	=	16	mātrās.
		tā	katī	ka	tā	dhāgī	nadhī	na	dhā			

Addhā	—	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	=	8	mātrās.
		dhā	dhīn	dhādhā	tin	tā	dhin	dhādhā	dhin			

There would be various embellishments while employing the ṭhekā to indicate the tāla.

Sam and the tāla cycle—The syllabic beat of the first mātrā of the tāla is popularly known as the sam. This word, feminine in gender, points to the point of time which is the end of the tāla-cycle and the beginning of the next one. The psychological significance of sam in Hindustani music is indescribable. Excepting in the Rūpaka tāla, the starting of the tāla is indicated by a clap of the hand. Starting of the second half of the tāla cycle is indicated by the wave of the hand, e.g.,

Tritāla	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	dhā	dhin	dhin	dhā	dhā	dhin	dhin	dhā
	x							
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
	dhā	tin	tin	tā	tā	dhin	dhin	dhā
	o							

Dhā at the beginning of the second half would be indicated by wave of the hand (it is called khāli). As this tāla has three tālis (claps) in 1st, 5th and 13th mātrās, it is called Tritāla. The song or the instrumental music does not start normally on the first mātrā of the tāla, excepting tālas of smaller time-units, like dādrā, kahrvā, jhaptāla etc.

e.g. Rāga Bihāg—Tritāla—

oo	15	16 /	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
			x															
	de	kho	sa	khi	o	ka	nhai	yā	ro	ke	ṭhā	ḍo	hai	gai	o	li	de	kho

This beat for sam may be clearly pronounced or sometimes be kept silent for strikingness. In slow tempo, sometimes at the end, the syllabic beat is employed with two or three syllables. So that the ensuing sam is at once indicated.

e.g. Ekatāla—

1	2	3	4	5	6
dhin	dhin	dhāgī	tirakiṭa	tū	nā
7	8	9	10	11	12
ka	ttā	dhāgī	tirakiṭa	dhī	nā

11 12

In place of last nā of one mātrā nā nā is played each of half mātrā or dhāgin dhāgiṅ is played in place of last dhī and nā respectively. This is done purposely so that the listener understands immediately that the sam is coming next. The arrival of the sam is indicated from 1½ mātrās or 2½ mātrās at the end of the tāla cycle, in one style of sitar-playing. Many complicated patterns in the employment of the tāla make it striking in various ways.

Rāga and Rasa:

The melodic expression of a rāga is determined by the aṁśa or vādin (the dominant note) employed in that rāga. The use of the consonant and assonant notes and the non-employment of dissonant notes help the manifestation of that rāga to its fullest effect. The aṁśa note is so called as it is the part that indicates the melodic expression, by being employed profusely. It is called vādin as it tells (i. e. expresses) the rāga. Mataṅga[14] takes the credit of explaining first the form of the course of rāga. He has mentioned the Rasas of the rāgas also. e.g. Gauḍapañcama - manifesting love-in-separation, Śuddhaṣāḍava - manifesting the Erotic and the Comic, Śuddhakaiśika-manifesting the Heroic and the Furious etc. Later on the writers of Saṅgītaśāstra have also stated the employment of Rāgas in various Rasas. The Rasa concept in Sāhitya requires a situation. Such a situation is impossible without words. When a particular song, portraying the Erotic sentiment is sung effectively, it will be relished by rasika, e.g. the effect of such a song sung in the rāga Yaman will be heightened by the use of befitting tāla in the appropriate medium tempo, the embellishments of svara-patterns, the various voice modulations (kāku) etc. Due to such association, the instrument like sitar which plays that song solo will produce similar effect. The medium of music is the sonorous sounds—the notes. As such, when pure music is considered words become secondary. When the aspect of music is predominant, for the melodic effect and tāla-laya, sometimes the words are split up or changed to such an extent that their meaning becomes totally lost. In the case of the ancient gītis it is pointed out by Mataṅga[15] and Abhinava that when the music predominates as in Sāmaveda the meaning is not cared for while the words split up in the repetition.

e.g. Ardhamāgadhī gīti—

mā rī gā sā (1)
de o vam o

sā gā dhā nī (2)
vam ru dram o

pā dhā pā mā (3)
dram van de o

Sāmagāna—Grāmageya-gāna — 1.1

1 ra ²ra

gṛ ṇā no ha | vyadātoya²ī | toya²i |

In Sāman-music the words are sometimes changed beyond recognition. In Gāndharva,[16] the pada (i.e. word) aspect becomes secondary. Only in the case of gāna i.e. dhruvāgāna words become important and music serves to accentuate the meaning of the words. In present-day music, same is the case of light classical music such as thumrī, dādrā etc., Hence, the use of embellishments of svara and tāla should be such as not to hamper, but to express more effectively, the meaning of the song, in light classical music. A musical[17] note by its natural property can please if natural, or displease if otherwise.[18] Consonances in music produce a pleasant and hence a bright effect, while dissonances produce unpleasant or sad effect. Every note in music and its shade produces, by law of association a feeling which affects the body, though it may not lead to analysis easily. An expert singer can express powerfully the emotional appeal of the song through the appropriate note employing befiitting modulations. Ultimately, the best music will make the mind completely engrossed in it, making it free from the[19] worldly feelings. This is then bliss— "सद्यः परनिर्वृतिः" in the words of Mammaṭa.

There is difference of opinion about the importance of words in music. Some scholars give equal importance to words and svara-tāla while others state that in pure music the words are only secondary and not important at all. In highly classical style of rāga-presentation some great musicians, while singing a khyāl, split the words or change them for the sake of music to such an extent that the meaning is lost. Still, the rāga-presentation is marvellous. As per the other opinion, in the highly classical music also the words of the composition should be sung without losing their meaning. The proper rendering of a rāga with meaningful composition or with words rendered secondary or without words is sufficient to produce the ultimate effect—the aesthetic delight, the bliss.

With the various tāla-patterns and laya, the melodic effect of the notes of the rāga become more striking. When the embellishments of svara and tāla are interwoven in graceful patterns, simple and complex, the pleasure produced is both on the intellectual and emotional levels. Ultimately, these two levels of the mind become one when the musical expression of the melody reaches its climax. The svara-part used in the ālāpa of a rāga without tāla, does manifest the expression of that rāga; but in this svara-pattern also there is laya-aspect. This laya-aspect gains artistically controlled expression when the tāla is employed.

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1 Bṛhaddeśī, p-12 "स्वयं यो राजते यस्मात् तस्मादेष स्वरः स्मृतः" ।

"रागजनको ध्वनिः स्वरः" ।

2 Nāṭyaśāstra, Vol. IV. pp. 10, 11

3 Saṅgītaratnākara I. 3. 24, 25

श्रुत्यनन्तरभावी यः स्निग्धोऽनुरणनात्मकः ॥
स्वतो रञ्जयति श्रोतृचित्तं स स्वर उच्यते ।

4 "ह्रस्वं मात्रा । दीर्घं द्वे । प्लुतं वृद्धं चेति त्रिमात्रमभिधीयते ।
ह्रस्वं द्विमात्रसंयुक्तं प्लुतमाहुर्मनीषिणः । दीर्घं तु मात्रासंयोगाद् वृद्धमित्यभिधीयते ॥"

मात्रालक्षणम् - 1-3-4

5 Nāradīya-śikṣā—1.6.21

अभ्यासार्थे द्रुतां वृत्तिं प्रयोगार्थे तु मध्यमाम् ।
शिष्याणामुपदेशार्थं कुर्याद् वृत्तिं विलम्बिताम् ॥

6 Nāṭyaśāstra, Vol. IV p. 153— "निमेषाः पञ्च मात्रा स्यात् ।"

Abhinava—गीतकालस्य परिच्छेदकालान्तरं प्रमाणं पञ्च निमेषा ह्रस्वाक्षरपञ्चकमिति यावत् ।

7 Layatālavicāra—pp. 76-8

8 Nāṭyaśāstra—Vol. IV. p. 151. तच्च प्रतिष्ठाकरण इति ।

9 ,, ,, ,, p. 162. करतलपरिच्छेदरूपत्वात् तले भवतीत्यस्य तालशब्दः कैश्चिन्निरुक्तः ।

10 ,, ,, ,, p. 151. लीङ् श्लेषणे इत्यस्य लय इति रूपम् ।

11 ,, ,, ,, p. 422.

शृङ्गारहास्ययोगे वाद्यं योज्यं तथाऽङ्गिते मार्गे । वीराद्भुतरौद्राणां वितस्तमार्गेण वाद्यं तु ॥
करुणरसेऽपि हि वाद्यं योज्यं ह्यालिप्तकरणमार्गे तु । बीभत्सभयानकयोस्तथैव नित्यं हि गोमुख्याम् ॥

12 Ibid. pp. 362-3.

13 Saṅgītaratnākara. V. 310.

अन्येऽपि सन्ति भूयांसस्तालास्ते लक्ष्मवर्त्मनि ।
प्रसिद्धिविधुरत्वेन शास्त्रेऽस्मिन्न प्रदर्शिताः ॥

14 Bṛhaddeśī, p. 81

रागमार्गस्य यद्रूपं यन्नोक्तं भरतादिभिः ।
निरूप्यते तदस्माभिर्लक्ष्य(ल)क्षणसंयुतम् ॥

15 Bṛhaddeśī, p. 52.

Nāṭyaśāstra Vol. IV. p. 93 "यतः सामवेदे आवृत्तिष्वर्थों न आद्रियते"।

16 „ „ p. 7 Abhinava-तेन स्वराः प्रधानं, तालो नामात्मा तत्साम्येनोपकारकः . . . । ततोऽपि दूरं पदं . . . ।

17 The Psychology of Music, p. 53.

18 Hindusthānī Music, p. 131.

19 Gītālaṁkāra (ascribed to Bharata). MS. in B.O.R.I. Poona—

सर्वेषामेव लोकानां दुःखशोकविनाशनम् ।
यस्मात्संदृश्यते गीतं सुखदं व्यसनेष्वपि ॥

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क्षणादिरूपो यः कालः स प्राणत्वेन कीर्त्यते ।
गीतादेस्तु मितिं कुर्वन् स एवायाति तालताम् ॥

अणुद्रुतं समारभ्य तालकालोऽत्र कथ्यते ।
क्षणादिरूपकालेन तालो नेतुं न शक्यते ॥

शिवशक्त्यात्मकं पुण्यं यशस्यं भुक्तिमुक्तिदम् ।
दशप्राणात्मकं तालं यो जानाति स तत्त्ववित् ॥

दशप्राणपरिज्ञानप्रवीणस्तालधारकः ।
नृत्यादिषु प्रशस्तः स्यादितरस्तु मृतोपमः ॥

तकारे शङ्करः प्रोक्तो लकारे पार्वती स्मृता ।
शिवशक्तिसमायोगात्ताल इत्यभिधीयते ॥

—चतुरदामोदरविरचितं सङ्गीतदर्पणम्
श्लोकाः ६३२-३, ६३५-७.

Grant, Resumption, and Regrant

(A historical case study based on Pāṇḍyan Inscriptions of the 11th and early 12th centuries).

SRI R. TIRUMALAI I. A. S. (RETD.)

New Delhi

The writer deems it a privilege to join the world of scholarship in paying his humble tribute in the form of this article to the late Mm. Sri S. Kuppuswamy Sastrigal. For one thing, he was a research scholar under, and had lifelong association with late Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, a younger contemporary and an intimate friend of late Sri Kuppuswami Sastrigal. For another, the writer was guided in his Sanskrit studies by the late Sri T. R. Chintamani, one of the Mahāmahopādhyāya's brilliant disciples, who passed away prematurely.

Introduction

This study is based on the 12 inscriptions[1] copied from the temple of Citraratha Vallabha Perumāḷ Temple at Kōil Kuruvitturai (Village No. 32 in Nilakkōṭṭai Taluk. Madurai District). There are two villages of the same name, No. 34 which is *Ayan* and Kuruvitturai—a Government village. The other is No. 32, Kōil Kuruvitturai. Both are now Ryotwari Government Villages. The latter is a tell-tale name that implies the lands/land-revenue from the village that had been assigned to the Temple in former times as an endowment. The Perumāḷ Temple has about 11.69 acres of wet and 16.82 acres of dry lands, yielding together with other proceeds, an income of about 6571 rupees [2] in 1961. The temple and the village are located about 6 miles north-west of Cōḷavandān (Shōḷavandān) Railway Station. The ayan village lies mostly to the South and West of the river Vaigai. Kōil Kuruvitturai lies to the south and west of the river as the river winds north and then loops south-eastwards. But a portion of this village also lies to the north of the river Vaigai (Survey Nos. 1 to 52).

The Vaigai river emerges from the dry uplands just above Kōil Kuruvitturai. The village immediately above is called characteristically, Mēṭṭuppaṭṭi. The gradient has been utilised as vantage points to run the anicuts across the river Vaigai from early medieval times. At the commencement of this century the Pēraṇai was constructed at a higher contour, now to pick up Periyār water and push it down through the Periyār channel system on the north bank-side and through the Tirumangalam canal on the

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[1] ARE Nos. 318 to 329 of 1908.

[2] Census of India 1961, Vol. IX Part XI—D—p. 98.

south bank-side. To the west of the village stretch the reserve forests of Vikramangalam, and Mannāḍimangalam (Block No. 200). The slope southwards facilitated the west ayacut or command area to be formed in between the river and the uplands further south-west (vide Taluk Map – 1) in the ribbon of the Vaigai valley.

The epigraphic evidence examined below fully brings out the extension of irrigation and reclamation activity the tract had witnessed in the 11th and 12th centuries and the fluctuations the process had undergone.

The bunch of the twelve records are all of the Pāṇḍyan dynasty. Of these, nine records belong to the reign of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, ranging from the 2nd year to the 22nd regnal year. Six of them have the common *praśasti* or '*Meykīrti*' beginning with "Tirumaḍandaiyum Jayamaḍandaiyum".[3]

Among the three other records, one is dated the 15th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara[4] I – A.D. 1205. The second is dated the 9th year of Parākrama Pāṇḍya[5]. The third is undated.[6] This last records a pillar gifted by one Siṟṟambala Uḍaiyān – Pāṇḍarangi Vāṇan.

The deity is referred to in the inscriptions as Tirucakratīrtha Emberumān. The temple is located in Survey No. 256 of Kōil Kuruvitturai village right on the banks of the Vaigai river. Perhaps the turn of the river from the north to the east was considered sacred and named Cakratirtha and the deity was named after the hallowed waters of the place. The name "Tirucakratīrtha Perumāḷ" has become corrupted into Citraratha Vallabha Perumāḷ. The occurrence of "Vallabha" in the deity's current name will distinctly recall the benefactions of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha to the temple. Perhaps, the temple and the settlement, even if founded earlier, were patronised much during Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha's time. He was himself found to have been camping there once in the 11th year of his reign and this is recorded in one inscription [7]. A Tamiḷ verse inscribed in the 9th year of Parākrama Pāṇḍya mentions the temple as Śrī Vallabha-Viṇṇagar [8].

Date

Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha Pāṇḍya with the *Meykīrti* "Tirumaḍandaiyum Jeyamaḍandaiyum" has been held with some basis to be the contemporary of Cōḷa Kulōttunga I

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[3] ARE 321, 323, 326, 328, 324 & 322.

[4] ARE 326 / 1908.

[5] ARE 328 / 1908.

[6] ARE 329 / 1908.

[7] SII Vol. XIV No. 229 p. 132.

[8] ARE 328 / 1908.

(A.D. 1070—1120)[9]. This Pāṇḍyan ruler had a reign of nearly 23 years. A considerable number of his records are found in Tirunelvēli, Madurai, and Rāmanāthapuram Districts. He had a queen called Ulagamuḻuduḍaiyāḷ. Among his thrones, one was named Pāṇḍya-rājan, and another Kalingattaraiyan in his palace at Madurai, east of Māḍakkuḷam. Parākrama Pāṇḍya, after whom an anicut and a channel have been named was perhaps one of his predecessors. The inscriptions can hence be taken to belong to the late 11th century and early 12th century.

The name of the Township, Kuruvitturai, occurs in the inscriptions as Cōḷāntaka Caturvēdimangalam, a Brahmadēya in Pāganūr Kūṟṟam. Prof. Sastri was inclined to attribute the name to the commemoration of Vīra Pāṇḍya's success over Cōḷa Āḍitya II[10].

The Township and Temple History

The earliest record noticed is of the 2nd year of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha[11]. In that year one hundred *Dramam* were deposited as capital in the Temple Treasury for a lamp service by two widows of a Brahmin, by name Śrī Dēvi Sāni and Śrī Bhūmi Sāni[12]. Their husband was Citrabhaṭṭan of Tūrpil[13] residing in the 10th *Cēri*[14] (Street) of the Brahmadēya village. These two ladies were represented by their elder brother who acted as their guardian *Mudukaṉ* and his name was Sundarattōḷuḍaiyān Bhaṭṭan of Gōmapuram. The two ladies were sisters, and had both married Citra Bhaṭṭan who was perhaps no more. Bigamy was prevalent. The deposit was to remain in tact. From the interest at 2 *dramams* per month a lamp service in the temple was to be maintained by supplying *uḷakku* oil per day.

The temple authorities undertook to execute the service. It was to be supervised by Nārāyaṇan Nīṇḍaponmēni alias Śrī Garuḍadāsar, residing in the ninth *cēri*. He was

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[9] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*—By Prof. K. A. N. Sastri, pp. 118 to 123.

[10] ibid.

[11] SII Vol. XIV, No. 198 p. 113.

[12] "*Sāni*" is a term of honorofic for noble women or ladies of rank and in Telugu means 'a wife' also.

[13] Tūrpil was a famous centre near Kāncīpuram from where in the 14th century a great Vaiṣṇavite Ācārya, Vēdānta Dēsika hailed. Some residents therein were apparently of Vaiṣṇavite persuasion. The original nativity of Citrabhaṭṭa was perhaps in Tūrpil from where his ancestors had migrated down south.

[14] *Ceri*—a street or literally a cluster of houses. In every Brahmadēya village there were invariably twelve *Ceris* after the 12 names of Viṣṇu (*Dvādaśanāma*). In the Coḷa times the streets were re-named frequently after the Kings, their spouses, or mothers, sisters and brothers. This vanity appears to have been less pronounced or less frequently flaunted by the Pāṇḍyan Kings in the naming of the streets, though villages were named and renamed as also some of the principal colonies and streets.

already causing the building works for the Temple to be executed. He was also a priest (*Kanmi*) of the temple. The other signatories were :—

Anbil Nārāyaṇan Śrīrāman.

Anbil Kulisa. . . . Piccan Mādhava Bhaṭṭan alias Śrī Kārimāṛadāsar.

The document was inscribed by the stone mason attached to the temple, Candrasēkharan Sōṛuḍaiyān Tirucakra-Ācāri. The following inferences can be drawn from this document. The Brahmin settlement had a number of families whose nativity could be traced to Anbil [15] in the Cōḷa country, and to Tūrpil (near Kāñcīpuram) and Gōmapuram. They were of Vaiṣṇavite persuasion, as their names reveal and one bears the name, "the devotee of Kāri Māṛan", i.e. Nammāḷvār. The donors were cowives of Citrabhaṭṭan but their brother had acted as their guardian, as the husband was, perhaps, no more. The temple was just then being built as the works under execution were being supervised by one of the priests, Garuḍa-dāsar. The deposit was to remain in tact and the rate of interest was 24%. One *dramam* could purchase 15 *uḷakkus* or 3-3/4 measures (*nāḷi*) of oil. The *dramam* was still in vogue as a currency.[16]

In the 7th year of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha a deposit of gold, *sembon* 12 *kaḷañju* was made with the temple priest by a lady, Tiruvarangan Peṛṛa Tiru, wife of Appan Īśvaran, a merchant of Kēraḷāntakapuram in Nēṛkuppai.[17] She had installed a deity, Uyyakkoṇḍāḷvār, for being taken in Śrībali procession in the Temple of the Parama-svāmigal who stood in Śrīcakratīrtha. With the deposit, the following scale of offerings for *Sandhi* (service at dawn/dusk) was to be made :

For food offerings — 4 *nāḷi* of rice with curries, ghee, curds and betel and nuts, and leaves—in all per day 14 *nāḷis* of paddy.

The priests themselves undertook to remit this paddy by way of interest on the deposit of 12 *Sembon Kaḷañju.* In other words, 12 *kaḷañju* of gold yielded by way of nterest 53-1/4 *kalams* of paddy or 4-5/12 *kalams* of paddy per *kaḷañju.*

These two inscriptions help date the construction of the temple and its establishment in the early years of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha's reign. Even by the 7th year, the image of the deity for Śrībali procession, the daily ritual, was a felt want which was supplied by the wife of a merchant.

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[15] Anbil is in Tirucirāpalli District (Lālguḍi Taluk). It was a Brahmadēya in Kīḷkūṛṛu, a subdivision of Kiḷārkūṛṛu (vide A.R.E. 106/1920). Aniruddha-Brahmarāyar, a Minister under Sundara Cōḷa hailed from a Vaiṣṇavite family residing near about this place.

[16] one *kāśu*—6 to 7 *Dramams*.

[17] S.I.I. Vol. XIV No. 215 p. 122.

But the series of inscriptions examined below are of great interest to a student of medieval economic history and land tenures.

Creation of a Sub-tenure

In the 9th year and 330th day, while the King Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha was inside his Palace in Madurai seated in the Pāṇḍyarājan throne in the bedstead in Aḷagiyapāṇḍyan hall, on the submission of his chieftain Kāḷingarājan he ordered as follows [18] :— The *Dēvadāna* lands called '*Parākrama pāṇḍyan Kaṭṭaḷai,* being endowed lands for Tirucakrattāḷvār, shall be granted on '*Kuḍininngakārāṇmai* Tenure' to Śrī Harṣan alias Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa Vājapēyi Sarvakratukkaḷ of Kīranūr residing in the 6th street (*Ceri*) of the township and his heirs (*vargattār*). The subtenure holder, as the name indicated, should have been a person of distinction as he is described as Vājapēyī—he or his ancestors could have performed Vājapēya sacrifices—and as Sarvakratukkaḷ, or a person competent to perform all kinds of Vedic sacrifies.

The boundaries of the lands so granted were defined. The outer boundaries were :

East To the west of Parākrama Pāṇḍya Pērāṛu.

South To the north of the jungle stream which was flowing along Karumāṇikkavāykkāl fields.

West East of the quarries (*Kaṛkaḷam*) from which stones were being supplied (*Iṛukkum*) for the stone anicut called Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Kallaṇai.*

North To the south of the Vaigai big river, and west of the head-reach fields of Viḷakkamangalam.

Within these broad outer boundaries the lands lying within the following boundaries were to be excluded.

To the west of Kuruvikkalluḍaippu, a local quarry. (Did the township take its name after this quarry?) To the north of Parākrama Pāṇḍyan big river (It is really a channel taking off from the river Vaigai). To the east of the western breaches, and To the south of the Vaigai river.

The lands referred to should be located perhaps in between the Vaigai river and the channel flowing to the south and these were excepted. All other lands within the outer boundaries described were to be enjoyed by the Sarvakratukkaḷ and his heirs as Kuḍinīnga Kārāṇmai. He was authorised to excavate a new channel, by name Śrī Vallabhankāl from the river, and to dis-afforest, and bring the lands under cultivation. On the yielding lands per *mā* (33 cents) measured by the rod called "*Malai kuṭṭi malai*".

[18] S. I. I. Vol. XIV No. 223 p. 127.

1/4 *kāśu* and 5 *kalams* of paddy measured by the Vīra Pāṇḍyan *Kāl* were to be delivered to the Temple. For Kuṟuvai (Summer crop) on yielded lands at 3/4 of the rates specified for the main crop.

The royal order was attested by :—

(1) Madusūdana Ambalakkūthan alias Tennavan, Mudalināṭṭu Mūvēnda Vēḷān of Seḷuvanūr of Muttūṟṟu Kuṟṟam.

(2) Koḷuvānūr Uḍaiyan Gaṇapuradēvan Kuvalaya Candiran alias Kumaṇarājan.

The Śrīvaiṣṇavas of the Temple recorded this grant of subtenure by the King as conveyed in the royal epistle (*Śrīmukha*). It was engraved by the same Temple stone-mason who engraved the record of the second year. This subtenure grant was later formalised in the name of the deity, who abides at Cakratīrtha.[19] The land so given to the Sarvakratukkaḷ had formed part of the endowment for the kitchen services (*Aḍuk-kuḷaipuram*). The temple was the original grantee of the lands, and hence this formal deed of conveyance in the name of the deity. Deeds were mede and done in the name of the deity as He was a legal person.

Two years later, i.e., in the 11th year Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, the King, had visited the Township. He was seated in the bed-stead called Pāṇḍyarājan in Aḷagiya Pāṇḍyan hall inside the palace (Temple) (?) (*Koil*) at Cōḷāntaka-caturvēdimangalam[20].

Grant of Lands in exchange

Opportunity was availed of this royal visit by Kāḷingarāyan the chieftain who submitted as follows:

From the 2nd year of the reign a grant of lands purchased from the Sabhayār of the Township for cash by Siddhakuṭṭi-Mādhavan alias Cōḷa Muttarayan, the *Kiḷān* (headman) of Māngāḍu in Māngāḍu nāḍu, a sub-division of Puliyūr Kōṭṭam, a division of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was in the enjoyment of the temple. According to the title deed the boundaries of the lands were as follows :—

East	To the west of Viḷakkamangalam head-fields (Talaivayal) and Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Pērāṟu* (Canal).
South	To the north of the dry lands allocated for the enjoyment of stone-cutters of Mūvāyiranallūr.
West	To the east of the quarries from which stones were being supplied for the stone anicut named after Parākrama Pāṇḍyan.
North	South of Vaigai.

[19] S. I. I. Vol. XIV No. 224 p. 128.
[20] S. I. I. Vol. XIV No. 229, p. 132.

Within these limits the *Dēvadāna Iṛaiyili*-Grant (Tax-free) lands were in three bits. The first bit measured 12 *vēlis* or 79.20 acres. The second bit comprised the temple and the courtyard, and the appurtenant temple-sites, 5 *vēli* or 33.00 acres. The third bit had comprised lands to the north of Vaigai river purchased and endowed, 5 and 13/160 *vēlis* Total . . . 22 & 13/160 *vēlis*.

The three scattered bits were together named Śrī Kulasēkharamangalam.

Of these bits, the lands of over 5 *vēli* on the north bank were not contiguous but detached (*Sēravallāmayāl*). Hence it was submitted that this bit might be resumed (*Tiṛappāki*) from the 11th year. In exchange therefor, on the south bank of the river *Talaimāṛu*, an equal extent of 5 and 13/160 *vēlis*, which were earlier the *Dēvadāna* lands of the Temple and had been resumed, and then paying full land dues might be granted as free from tax dues in contiguity with the lands already tax-free and in enjoyment of the deity.

Again, out of the 5 *vēlis* of land endowed for the Temple-site, courtyard and garden and appurtenant temple sites for temple services, 3 *vēlis* were not contiguous and hence they might be resumed and the Dēvadāna tenure might be cancelled, and the remaining 2 *vēlis* alone might be registered for the Temple.

The King accepted the submission of Kāḷingarājan. He ordered that within the boundaries indicated but to the south of the Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Pēṛāṛu*, towards the west of the lands with a draining water course (*Selkālāivarugira*) as of old, measuring 12 *vēlis* already under cultivation and close and contiguous to it, in exchange for the lands in the north bank of Vaigai it be granted 5 and 13/160 *velis* in Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Kattaḷai* comprising :—

(a) lands resumed earlier and on which land dues were being borne (*Tirappāi Iṛuttu Varugira*)	3-1/2	*vēli*
(b) Cultivable waste land to be reclaimed (*Vaśakki*)	1-1/2	*vēli* 1-1/2 *mā & araikāṇi*
	5-13/160	*vēlis*
Total	17-13/160	*vēlis*
Add Temple and appurtenant sites	2	*vēlis*
Grand Total	19-13/160	*vēlis*

Thus the total extent of *Dēvadāna* lands got reduced by 3 *vēlis*.

The reassigned lands were deducted from the village-extents and accounted for separately as Kulaśekharamangalam and endowed *Dēvadāna-Iṛayili* for the services including provision of apparel for the deity. The original grant reduced in writing was

also attested by Kumaṇarājan alias Gaṇapuravan kuvalayacandran of Koḷuvanūr in the Eastern *Kūṟu* (portion) of Miḷalaikūṟṟam.

An *uḷvari* or counterfoil extract of the tax-register was also given, and attested by puravuvari-Tiṇaikaḷam Mukaveṭṭi Velmangalamuḍayān Vēlan alias Āḷiyungayyān of Miḷalai Kūṟṟam and the Uttaramantrin, Aṇḍanāṭṭu Perumaṇalūr Mantri, Tirumalai-uḍaiyān.

It will be noted that the contiguity of land was much coveted for beneficial enjoyment. The advantages were (i) for cropping and watch and ward over the lands and farming over the contiguous lands. (ii) The gradient southwards would permit better irrigation from a new canal permitted to be excavated which the fields to the north of the river Vaigai did not adequately possess. The disadvantages were (i) the temple suffered a diminution of 3 *vēlis* and (ii) 1-1/2 *velis* and odd obtained in exchange had still to be reclaimed and had to be brought under cultivation.

Resumption and reversion to status quo ante and termination of sub-tenure

Five years later in the 16th year and 171st day of Jaṭāvarman Śrīvallabha, the grant so made in the 11th year was changed.

The King was again seated in his Palace at Madurai in the Aḷagiya Pāṇḍyan Hall (*Kūḍam*) in his royal couch called Kalingattaraiyan. The Vaiṣṇavas of the temple of Śrīcakrattāḷvār submitted as below [21] :—

The 17 and 13/160 *vēlis* of wet land (*Nīr-nilam*) given as a contiguous estate were undertaken by Sarvakratukkaḷ—perhaps the same Brahmin who had been favoured by the King in his 9th year[22]—for cultivation with *Kārāṇmai* rights. He excavated a canal (from Vaigai river) above the Parākrama Pāṇḍyan kāl and cultivated the land. The Sabhayār of Cōḷāntaka-caturvēdimangalam objected to the newly excavated canal as it intercepted the drawal by their own channel lower down, and interfered with their established riparian rights. They represented this to the King and with the royal approval, that new canal was closed and filled up (*Tūrtamayil*) with earth. It was hence submitted that the 5 and 13/160 *vēlis* of land granted in exchange in the 11th year could not be successfully cultivated unless the new canal was permitted to be used for command But this was not possible due to the Sabhayārs' objection which had been upheld. It was, hence, supplicated that the lands granted on the south bank in the 11th year might be resumed again. Instead an equal extent of land which had formed part of the original purchase in the name of the deity and endowed by the Kiḷān of Māngādu on the northern bank might be restored as *Dēvadāna Iṟaiyili,* changing

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[21] S. I. I. Vol. XIV. No. 236 p. 141.

[22] Op. Cit. No. 223.

its tenure from resumed assessed land. As a result, together with the 12 *vēlis* of land retained as *Dēvadāna* on the south bank, and 2 *vēlis* of temple-site and appurtenances and garden and temple-endowments and the 5-13/160 *vēlis* of land on the north bank of Vaigai restored to the temple, the total extent of 19 and 13/160 *vēlis* were reduced from the tax-bearing lands and separately accounted for as Kulasēkhara-mangalam. The *Kārāṇmai*, and the *mēlātci* rights on this estate be it more or less, shall belong to the deity Himself. In addition, the *antarāyam* payable to the King on the lands by the temple shall be remitted for 4 years from the 16th year. Thus supplicated and on being recommended by Kāḷingarayan, the King granted the request.

The oral royal order was reduced to writing by Munayadarayan, and attested by Parākrama Pāṇḍya Uttara-Mantrin, his minister, in the 16th year and 171st day. It was also confirmed by a letter issued by Kālingarājan, the chieftain to the Śrī Vaiṣṇava-vāriyan (Executive of the Temple), and the temple priests of the Cakratīrtha-Āḷvār temple.

By this order the *status quo ante* was restored. But the temple had still two disadvantages—(1) The total extent of endowment had suffered a diminution of 3 *vēlis*. (2) The restoration of the originally endowed purchased land of 5 and 13/160 *vēlis* on the north bank had less of command facilities for irrigation. Presumably for this reason the Sarvakratukkal had relinquished his *Kārāṇmai* rights on the 5 and 13/160 *vēlis*. The entire land-rights vested with the temple. The temple was hence put to the necessity of finding suitable tenants or sub-tenure holders or alternatively the temple authorities had to undertake direct cultivation of the endowed lands notwithstanding the inferior irrigation facilities. It was in recognition of this difficulty and to allow time for stabilised wet cultivation that the *antarāyam* was ordered to be remitted (*Taviral*) for 4 years from the 16th year.

Final grant of resumed lands and enlargement of Temple-endowed lands

The Śrīvaniṣṇavas of the temple were not contented. They sought an augmentation of the grant extent as well as the absolute and permanent remission of *Antarāya*. In the 22nd year and 200th day, i.e. 6 years after the last transaction, the King was seated on the royal couch Pāṇḍyarāyan in the theatre (*Nāṭakasālai*) inside the Palace at Madurai. On the submission of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and as recommended by *Periyān* (a chieftain ?), the King ordered as follows[23]: The 5 *vēlis* of land on the south bank lying with the original grant area called Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Kaṭṭaḷai and given in exchange in the 11th year as *Dēvadāna Iṛaiyili* but resumed in the 16th year were again ordered to be tax-free to the temple. The *antarāyam* payable even on the *Dēvadāna* lands of the deity was also granted to defray the expenses for providing apparel and for the renovation/extension works of the temple from the 22nd year. The grant inclusive of *Antarāya* was made permanent.

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[23] S. I. I. Vol. XIV No. 254, 255, pp. 156-157.

The oral Royal order was again attested by Māṇi Tirumalaiuḍaiyān *alias* Parākrama Pāṇḍya Uttiramantrin of Perumaṇalūr in Aṇḍanāḍu and Arayan Ambalakkūttan of Koḷuvanūr in Miḷalaikūṟṟam.

The order was also confirmed by Kāḷingarāyan's epistle conveying the grant and attested by Veḷiyāṟṟur Uḍayān the Puravuvari-tiṇaikaḷanāyagam, the Superintendent of the Revenue Accounts of the assessed and arable lands. As a result, the total grant-extent increased to 24 and 13/160 *vēlis*. Also the *Dēvadāna* lands need not pay *Antarāya* any longer and thus the quantum of the grant also included this item of land-due usually payable in cash.

There was only one more inscription of interest. It was dated in the 15th year of Jaṭāvarman Kulasēkhara (A.D. 1205), a successor king after Śrīvallabha. It referred to the construction of a *Maṇḍapa* and a *māḷigai* (a pavilion and a hall) named after the King. The work was undertaken at the instance of a native of Tirunelvēli, alias Kulasēkhara-caturvēdimangalam in Kīḷa-Vēmbunāḍu [24] (identical with Tirunelvēli, the District headquarters of that name).

A Sum up.

The grant-village is clearly identical with Kōil-Kuruvithurai (Village No. 32 in Nilakkottai Taluk). The details in the Village Map show three shrines, the main Cakra-tīrtha-vallabha (corrupted as Vaḷḷuva) Temple, an Āḷvār Temple on the banks of the river Vaigai, flowing in Survey No. 57, where, perhaps, Sudarśana was worshipped. A third Vaḷḷuvar Temple is marked on the north-western part of the main temple. Was this a new shrine added and a deity was named after Śrīvallabha ?

There were two estates—one was lying entirely on the south bank of river Vaigai and a grant made in a prior reign. This was Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *kaṭṭaḷai*. It had enjoyed canal irrigation from Vaigai. The stone-masonry anicut and a canal taking off therefrom were both named after Parākrama Pāṇḍya. Perhaps they were intended to irrigate these endowed lands. A portion of these lands granted as *Dēvadāna* to the temple had been granted on a sub-tenure as *Kuḍinīnga kārāṇmai* in the 9th year, to Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa Vājapeyī, i.e., he was a holder under the temple with landlordship including occupancy rights which were inextinguishable. But he had the obligation to pay 1/4th *kāśu* and 5 *kalams* of paddy per *mā* to the temple. This was the royal order issued at the instance of Kāḷingarājan and the temple authorities carried out the command.

The main tenure of the lands was *Dēvadāna* or Eleemosynary Tenure. The sub-tenure Kuḍinīnga-Kārāṇmai had the following characteristics : The Temple was the main grantee with rights of land dues assigned to it by the King. The lands, in this

[24] A.R.E. 327 of 1908.

case, being reclaimable the grant could be presumed to include the land also. The sub-holder had inextinguishable (*Nīngā*) land-holder's rights (*Kārāṇmai*) including occupancy. Usually such rights were fastened on unoccupied lands and the payment of rental to the temple was usually an immutable fixed quantum of obligation. (*Vāḍāk-kaḍan*). But this case was a variant and the stipulation was per *mā* of 33 cents and it was an exception. The hazards of cultivation as well as the benefits of future improvements, the choice of crop, and even the freedom to induct tenants at will accrued to the sub-tenure holders.[25]

Here the *Kuḍi* denotes the Brahmin occupant holder under the temple. As such, it could not denote the actual tiller of the soil. The *Kuḍi* need not himself be the actual cultivator. The Sarvakratukkaḷ was, presumably, a man of influence and of the world. He should have engaged managers for farming the estates and sub-tenants and cultivators under them. He had acted as an agricultural entrepreneur bringing under cultivation endowed lands which were lying waste and also excavating canals for irrigating the lands.

The first estate was apparently a royal endowment. The second was the result of a purchase and endowment by a benefactor from Māngāḍu in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. It had perhaps, carried with it some pre-existing obligations like the payment of *Antarāvam* borne by the predecessors in title, the holders in the Brahmadēya village.

This second estate was called Kulasēkharamangalam. It had comprised the following:

(1)	The original temple sites and appurtenances:	5 *vēlis*
(2)	One bit of land of 12 *vēlis* lying to the south of the river, Vaigai and perhaps abutting the first grant of Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Kaṭṭaḷai*	12 *vēlis*
(3)	A second bit of land lying north of the Vaigai river,	5-13/160 *vēlis*

This last was a detached bit. Together the lands were named as Kulasēkhara-mangalam. It has to be distinguished from the first. These lands were endowed after purchase from the Sabhayār by Māngāḍu Kiḷān.

In the 11th year, the King ordered the resumption of the third bit and they were made liable to pay land-dues to the King. (*Tirappu*, a term which is still used in Revenue parlance to denote resumed land). Instead he gave an equal extent from

[25] On this subject of "Tenure" and "Sub-Tenure", a full study has been presented in the Author's forthcoming Book on the "Ancient Townships of Pudukkōṭṭai". The Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology is the Publisher.

within Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Kaṭṭaḷai*, an earlier grant but resumed earlier, and bearing full land dues at the time. The advantage of contiguity in location secured was at the sacrifice of 3 *vēlis* of land which had belonged to the temple but lying detached. The incentive for this sacrifice was, perhaps, the possibility of command facilities for irrigation.

The Sarvakratukkaḷ, perhaps the same holder, granted a sub-tenure in the 9th year, had also extended his occupancy holding, and landlordship (*Kārāṇmai*) over that exchanged bit. Of the 5-13/160 *velis*, 3-1/2 *vēlis* were readily cultivable. The remaining one and odd *vēlis* had to be reclaimed as they were waste lands. The Sarvakratukkaḷ had excavated a new canal with a head above the Parākrama Pāṇḍyan Kāl. This new head had intercepted the supply to the already established riparian owners of fields in the Brahmadēya village. Their objection was upheld by the King, and the new canal was closed and filled up.

In the 16th year the Temple authorities and the Sarvakratukkaḷ relinquished the 5 and odd *vēlis* of exchanged land on the south bank. The original lands endowed after purchase on the north bank were restored to the temple. But the *Kārāṇmai* rights on that part of the estate when it was located south of the river enjoyed by Sarvakratukkaḷ were terminated. The temple folded up in itself the entire rights on the entire grant as reconstituted including *Kārāṇmai* and *Mēlātci*. However, the King temporarily remitted *Antarāyam* payable on the private endowed lands for a period of 4 years, which had still subsisted after the purchase by the Māngāḍu Kiḷān without his terminating or determining it by a capitalised payment deposit with the Sabhā or the King.

Six years later, the 5 *vēlis* of land lying within the Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Kaṭṭaḷai* initially granted as *Dēvadāna* but resumed and later granted in exchange in the 11th year and again resumed in the 16th year were finally granted free of all land-dues in the 22nd year to the temple. In addition, the King also permanently remitted or made over to the temple *Antarāya* dues from Kulasēkharamangalam to the temple to meet expenses on clothings and renovation/expansion works.

Comments on the evidence

It is significant that the King had to interfere three times to grant, resume and regrant lands in the 11th, 16th and 22nd regnal years respectively. This was due to two factors: (i) The disadvantageous location of the 5 and 13/160 *vēlis* detached on northern bank of river Vaigai. The series of transactions were intended to contiguously locate the lands endowed to the temple, and to secure better command which could be had on the south bank of the river rather than on the north together facilitating beneficial enjoyment.

(2) The tenure of the lands—"Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Kaṭṭaḷai*" lands was outright royal grant to the temple on *Dēvadāna* tenure. The "Kulasēkhara-mangalam" lands were the result of purchase of Dharmadāna or Brahamadēya lands from the Sabhayār of the Township and endowed as *Dēvadāna*. As such the earlier obligations

to pay *antarāyam* had continued with the grant made by the *vendee*. The exchange for this private endowment of a portion of the purchased land was sought from the lands resumed by the King and fully assessed, though prior to such resumption the lands were part of the royal grant to the temple. Hence the change in the tenure of the land granted in exchange from the State to the Temple in the 11th year and the reversal of that transaction in the 16th year and the final regrant of the extent in the south bank location in the 22nd year had all to be done and could, perhaps, only be done by the King himself. It follows the King's share of the land dues could be temporarily or permanently remitted only by him and his officers. The acquired land carried with it the subsisting obligations of the prior tenure until they were specifically waived by the King. In this case it was not till the 22nd year that the obligation to pay *Antarāyam* on the purchased lands endowed to the temple in the 2nd year were finally remitted by the King.

The inscriptions also afford evidence on the settled official procedure. The affected parties made representations either at the Capital or when the King was on tour, they could do so *in situ*. The chieftain or high official had to recommend the proper course of action. On the King's oral orders they were recorded, and attested by a minister and a responsible official, sometimes more than one. Then an *uḷvari* or an extract of a tax register conveying the royal order of grant was issued. This was confirmed by a communication from the chieftain, (*Olai*). The attesting officials were also identical and had served the king from the 11th to the 22nd year.

One striking feature of the transaction of the 9th year could be noticed. The lands were part of the temple-endowed lands.—Parākrama Pāṇḍyan *Kaṭṭaḷai*. Normally the creation of landlorship (*Kārāṇmai*) including occupancy rights could have been done by the Temple authorities themselves acting together with the Township, the Sabhayār of Cōḷāntaka-caturvēdimangalam. Numerous instances of this type could be cited. But in the instant case the sub-tenure rights were ordered at the instance of the chieftain, Kāḷingarājan by the King himself. This was an exception. Perhaps it could have been the result of the Sarvakratukkaḷ approaching the King through the chieftain. The former could have been a person of stature, of Vedic learning and practices, a Vājapeyī, and also a man of influence, a Sarvakratukkaḷ, " doer of all ".

Alternatively, the process of reclamation had entailed excavation of a new canal (to be named after the King). This excavation might have needed royal permission. If it could be presumed the channel permitted to be excavated in the 9th year or an extension therefrom was identical with the channel closed on the objection of the Sabhayār in the 16th year, perhaps the Sarvakratukkaḷ had anticipated the objection of the riparian land-owners and had attempted to forestall the objection of the fellow land-holders in the township by seeking royal permission.

The Sabhayār, however, were indeed alert. They saw to it that the new canal though excavated by one among them, and one recognised among the land-based

literati at that, being above their own earlier channel-head, was closed and covered up. The King was also quick to uphold their objection.

The royal tours facilitated direct contacts with the subjects and the proximity of the Township to the capital, Madurai, could have been another factor. That could have been of avail to seek and secure royal intervention.

The period, late 11th and early 12th centuries, had witnessed active efforts to reclaim lands to extend irrigation and wet cultivation. The Parākrama Pāṇḍyan stone-masonry anicut on Vaigai from which the main canal (*Periār*) took off was still in the process of construction. The quarries from which the stones were supplied to build the anicut was a landmark to serve as a natural boundary for the block of lands granted. Cultivation was thus being extended right up to the forest edge. The shifting locations of grant-parcels culminating in the total grant of 24 and odd *velis* indicate the progressive attempts to optimise cultivation and enjoyment. The Temple acted as an agent for such agricultural extension. The land-based literate, particularly the noteworthy among them, had won recognition in their traditional scholastic or ritualistic accomplishments. But some among them were also men of the world. They had been active participants in land-improvement and creation of irrigation –facilities. In a discernible spirit of altruistic self-interest, they were not apt to lose sight of prospects for adding to material prosperity, individual and/or collective.

There were recognised differences in command facilities as between the northern and southern banks of the Vaigai ribbon. The competing claims for irrigation as between the established riparian rights and the needs preferred for extension by the less naturally advantageously located lands has been a recurring occurrence in Vaigai basin. This case study affords an early 12th century forerunner of this theme. For, similar claims were advanced after opening up of the ayacut under the Tirumangalam canal taking off from Pēraṇai, a few kilometres upstream Vaigai and proceeding southwards in Usilampaṭṭi and Tirumangalam Taluks. In the sixties of the current century, the competing claims were between the eastern and the western sides of the canal and also between the upper and the lower reaches of the canal. To a student of irrigation history, this case study could afford an early but distinct precursor of the contemporary experience.

The keen attention paid to water management, canalisation of river flows for wet cultivation and consciousness of water rights and relative priority of the earlier users are all very striking. The Vaigai too was one of the earliest rivers to be harnessed fully to beneficial irrigation. The Pāṇḍyan rulers were great promotors of the extension of water use and management and their names are perpetuated in the numerous canals and tanks we owe to them.